

# Reliquie Wottoniane:

# COLLECTION

Of LETTERS, POEMS; WITH

# CHARACTERS

OF

Sundry PERSONAGES:
And other Incomparable PIECES of LANGUAGE and ART.
Alfo Additional Letters to feveral Persons,

#### BYTHE

Sir HENRY WOTTON Kt.

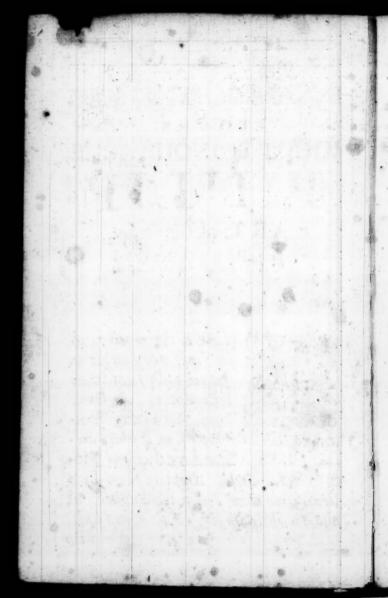
Late Provolt of Earon College.

The Fourth Edition, with Additions of feveral Letters to the Lord Zouch, never publish'd till now.

#### LONDON,

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Printed for B. Tooke, at the Ship in St. Paul's Churchyard, and T. Sambridge at the Three Flower de Luce's in Little Britain, 1685.



# DECEMBER OF THE PROPERTY OF TH

TO THE.

# RIGHT HONOUR ABLE

# PHILIP

EARL of Chefterfield,

Lord Stanhop of Shelford.

My Lord;



HAVE conceived many Reasons, why I ought in Justice to Dedicate these Reliques of Your Great Uncle, Sir Henry Wot-

ton, to Your Lordship; some of which are, that both Your Grand-mother and Mother had a double Right to them by a Dedication when first made Publick; as also, for their assisting me then, and since;

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with

#### THE EPISTLE

with many Material Informations for the Writing his Life; and for giving me many of the Letters that have fallen from his curious Pen: so that they being now dead, these Reliques descend to You, as Heir to them, and the inheritor of the memorable Bocton Palace, the Place of his Birth, where fo many of the Ancient. and Prudent, and Valiant Family of the Wottons lie now Buried; whose remarkable Monuments You have lately Beautified, and to them added so many of so great Worth as hath made it appear, that at the Erecting and adorning them, You were above the thought of Charge, that they might, if possible, (for 'twas no eafie undertaking) hold some proportion with the Merits of Your Ancestors. --

My Lord, These are a part of many more Reasons that have inclin'd me to this Dedication; and these, with the Example of a Liberty that is not given, but

## DEDICATORY

now too usually taken by many School to make triffling Dedicuttons, Alegar have begot a boldness in some Men of as hean as my mean Abilities to have undertaken this. But indeed, my Lord, though I was ambitious enough of undertaking it; yer as Sir Henry Worton buth Paid in a Piece of his own Character, That HE was condemned by Nature to a balkfulness in making Requests: for find my felf (pardon the Parallel) folke him in this that if I had not had more Reasons than I have yet exprest, these alone had not been powerful enough to have created a Confidence in me to have attempted it. Two of my unexprest Reasons are (give meleave to tell them to Your Lordinip and the World) that Sir Henry Wotton; whose many Merits made him an Ornament even to your Family, was yet so humble, as to acknowledgeme to be his Friend; and died in a belief that I was fo : fince which time, I have made,

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him

him the best return of my Gratitude for his Condescention, that I have been able to express, or he capable of receiving : and, am pleased with my jelf for so do-

ing.

My other Reason of this boldness, is, an incorragement (very like a command) from Your Worthy Cousin, and my Friend, Mr. Charles Cotton, who hath assured me, That You are such a Lover of the memory of Your Generous Uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, that if there were no other Reason than my endeavors to preserve it yet, that that alone would secure this Dedication from being unacceptable.

I wish, that not he, nor I be mistaken; and that I were able to make

You a more Worthy Present.

My Lord, I am and will be

el. 27. 1672.

Your Humble and most

Affectionate Servant,

Izaac Walton.

## BRABBERRA BRABA BRABA BRABAR

#### AN

## ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

## READER.

You may be pleas'd to take notice, that in this last Relation of Sir Henry Wotton's Life, 'tis both inlarg'd, and some small errors rectified; so that I may now be consident, there is no material mistakes in it.

There is in this Impression an Addition of many Letters; in which, the spirit with which they were writ, will assure them to be Sir Hen-

ry Wetton's.

For his Merits, they are above my expressions; and for that reason, the Reader is requested to take to what I have said of him in his Life, these following Testimonies.

I. That his Work of Architecture is Translated into Latin, Printed with the Great Vitra-

vius, and this Elogy prefixed,

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS Anglo Cantianus, Thomæ Optimi Viri Filius natu minimus, à Serenissimo Jacobo 1°, MAGNÆ BRI-

TA-

TANIA, & c. Rege in Equestrem Titulum ascitus: ejus démque ter ad Remp. VENETAM L'gitus Ordinarius; semel ad Confæderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio; bis ad Carolum Emmanuelem Sabaudiæ Ducem; semel ad unitos Superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Herlbrunnensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum Ducem Wirtenbergensem, civitates Imperiales, Argentinam Ulmamqu, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum II, Legatus extraordinarius; Tandem hoc didicit,

ANIMAS SAPIENTIORES FIERI

QUIESCENDO.

II. The second testimony is that of the great Secretary of Nature, the Lord Chancel-lor Bacon, who thought it not beneath Him to collect some of the Apothegems and sayings of

this Author.

III. Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle of England sets to his Seal also in a passage thus; (speaking of men of Note in King James his time) -- Sir Henry Wotton was sent Ambassador into Italy--and indeed the Kingdom yielded not a fitter man to match the Capriciousness of the Italian wits. A man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom a great deal more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

AN

#### AN ACCOUNT

## Of the WORK.

Ow of the Work it felf, Thou shalt find in it many curious things about

Architecture. Fountains.

Picture. Groves.
Sculpture. Aviaries.

Landskip. . Conservatories of rare

Magnetical experiments. beasts.

Gardens. Fish-ponds.

And also many observations of the Mysteries and Labyrinths in Courts and States, delivered in Lives, Letters to, and Characters of sundry Personages: As,

Observations and Characters (which He took in his Employments abroad) of these Dukes of

Venice.

Giovanni Bembo Nani.

Priuli. Donato.

Giustiniano. Ferdin. Gr. Duke of

Tuscany.

An Account of Foscarini.

Of the Arch-Duke Leopold. Of Count Tampire.

Artiffs and Famous men mentioned.

Tyco-brabe. Count Bevilac jua. Kebler. Leon Alberti.

Kepler. Leon Alberti.

Aldrovandus. Albert Durer. Palladio.

Philip D'Orme. Anto. Labaca censured. Michael Angelo B. Sir Henry Fanshaw.

Observations (at home) of the Courts of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, with Lives and Characters of

Earl of Effex.

Duke of Buckingham. Of K. Charles I.

Characters and observations of Queen Elizabeth. E. of Effex Father. E. of Leicefter. E. of Ffex Imployments. Arch. B. Whitgift. M. Anthony Bacon. Sir Robert Cecil. The Cecilians. Walter Devereux. Sir Philip Sidney. Sir Walter Raleigh.

Q. of Bohemia. Duke of Buckingbam. Spanish Journey.

L. Bacon. L. Treasurer Weston. L. Treasurer Juxton. Bp. Bedel. Ifle of Rheez.

Of the Dukes Ominous presages. Countess of Denbigb,

Arch-Bishop. B. of Ely.

Part of the Authors own Character.

Censures of

Felton. D. Fgylesham.

Secretary Cuff.

Of K. James.

K. Charles.

2 Mary.

Stamford. Scioppius.

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THE

# LIFE

## Sir HENRY WOTTON.



IR Henry Wotton (whose Life I now intend to write) was born in the Year of our Redemption 1568 in Boston-hall, (commonly called Boston, or Bougton-place, or Palace) in the Parish of Boston Malberb, in the fruitful Country of Ken: Boston-hall being an

ancient and goodly Structure, beautifying, and being beautified by the Parish Church of Bocton Malherb adjoyning unto it; and both seated within a fair Park of the Wortons, on the Brow of such a Hill, as gives the advantage of a large Prospect, and of

equal pleasure to all Beholders.

But this House and Church are not remarkable for any thing so much, as for that the memorable Family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many Momments in that Church: the Wottons being a Family that had brought forth divers Perfons eminent for Wisdom and Valour; whose Heroick Acts, and Noble Employments, both in England

England and in Foreign parts, have adorned themfelves and this Nation; which they have ferved abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their Negotiations with several Princes; and also served at home with much Honour and Justice, in their wise managing a great part of the publick Affairs thereof, in the various

times both of War and Peace.

But, lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doaht this Truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this Family: and also, for that I believe the merits and memory of such Persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every Reader, out of the testimony of their Pedegree, and our Chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just Commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent Reader to judge, whether my error be an excess or defect of Commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton of Botton Malberb Knight was born about the Year of Christ 1460: he living in the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroler of Callais, where he died,

and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wottom of Booton Maiberb Knight, (Son and Heir of the faid Sir Robert) was born in the Year of Christ 1489, in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh: he was made Treasurer of Callais, and of the Privy Counces to King Henry the Eight,

\* In his Chronicle. who offered him to be Lord Chantellor of England; but (faith \* Hillinshed) out of a vertuous modesty he refused it.

Thomas

Thomas Wetton of Boston Malherb Efquire, Son and Heir of the faid Sir Edward, (and the Father of our Sir Henry, that occasions this Relation) was born in the Year of Christ 1521: he was a Gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the Liberal Arts, in the knowledge whereof, he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful Estate, and the ancient Interest of his Predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his Country Recreations and Retirement for a Court-offeringhim a Knight-hood, the was then with him at his Bocton-hall) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under Her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Worson took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and . thankfully to boast himself the Son of such a Father: From whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practifed by himfelf, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for Hofpitality, a great Lover, and much beloved of his Country; to which may justly be added, that he was a Cherisher of Learning, as appears by that excellent Antiquary Mr. William Lambert, in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four Sons, Sir Edward, Sir James,

Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroler of her Majesties Houshold. He was (saith Cambden) a man remarkable for many and great Employments in the State, during Her Reign,

Reign; and sent several times Ambassador into Foreign Nations. After Her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of his Houshold, and called to be of his Privy Councel, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in Kene,

and made Lord Lieutenant of that County.

Sir James (the fecond Son) may be numbred among the Martial Men of his Age, who was in the 38 of Queen Elizabeth's Reign (with Robert Earl of Snsfex, Count Lodowick of Nasjaw, Don Christophoro, Son of Antonio, King of Portugal, and divers other Gentlemen of Nobleness and Valour) Knighted in the Field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great Honour and Riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that Town.

Sir John, being a Gentleman excellently accomplished, both by Learning and Travel, was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by Her look'd upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but Death in his younger

years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry, my following discourse shall give

an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wortons were all in a direct Line; and most of them and their actions, in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton, (who lived in the Reign of King Richard the Second) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several Ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the source for Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Dollor of Law, and fome-

time Dean both of Tork and Canterbury: a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to imploy them in the service of his Country, as is tellified by his \* Cambden several Imployments; \* having in his Bribeen sent nine times Ambassador unto tannia.

foreign Princes; and by his being

a Privy-Councellor to King Henry the eighth, to Edward the fixth, to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been during the Wars between England, Scotland and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) imployed in Committies for setling of peace between this and those Kingdoms, died (saith learned Cambden) full of Commendations for Wisdom and Piery.— He was also by the Will of King Henry the eighth, made one of his Executors, and chief Secretary of State to his Son, that pious Prince Edward the fixth.——Goncerning which Nicholas Worton, I shall say but this little more; That he refused (being offered it by Queen \* Hollinhed.

Elizaberb) to be \* Arch-bishop of Canrerbury, and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of Abberration

More might be added but by this rt may appear that Sir Henry Watton, was a branch of such a kindred as left a Stock of Reputation to their Pofterity fuch reputation, as might kindle a generous emulation in those of his Mane and Family to perform Actions worthy of their Ancestors.

And, that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my Pen care express it of of his many. Surviving friends, some one of higher parts and supply-

HOLIGE LANDY OF MOUNT

ment, had been pleased to have commended his to Posterity; But, since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it; my gratitude to

\* Sir Edward Bish Clarentieux King of Arms, M.Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert fometime Sir Hen. Wotton's Servant. the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some \* that still live sollicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to perswade me toundertake it; which, truly, I have not done, but with some distruct of mine own Abilities, and yet so far from despair, that I am

modestly consident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all Readers with a Commixture of

truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits:

This being premised, I proceed to tell the Reader, that the Father of Sir Henry Worson was twice married, first to Elizabeth, the Daughter of Sir John Rudstone Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all Contentions; yet, necessitated he was to several Suits in Law: in the prosecution whereof, (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many Discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly perswaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons:

namely, those that had Law-fuits.
that were of his Kindred.

And yet, following his own Law-suits, he met in Westminster-Hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, Widow to Robers Morton of Kent Esq; who was also

also engaged in several Suits in Law: and, he obferving her Comportment at the time of hearing
one of her Causes before the Judges, could not
but at the same time, both compassionate her Condition, and affect her Person: (for, the tears of
Lovers, or Beauty drest in sadness, are observed to
have in them a Charming Eloquence; and, to become very often too strong to be resisted) which
I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas
Woston, for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had
so seriously resolved; yet, his affection to her
grew then so strong, that he resolved to sollicite
her for a Wise; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the Daughter of Sir William Finch of Eastwel in Kent) he had only Henry his youngest Son.—His Mother undertook to be Tutores unto him during much of his Childhood; for whose care and pains, he paid her each day with such visible signs of suture persection in Learning, as turned her imployment into a pleasing-trouble: which she was content to continue, till his Father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a Tutor in his own

House at Boilton.

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And, when time and diligent instruction, had made him sit for a removal to an higher Form (which was very early) he was sent to Winche-ster-School: a place of strict Discipline and Order: that so, he might in his youth be moulded into a Method of living by Rule, which his wise Father knew to be the most necessary way, to make the surrepart of his life, both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether publick or private.

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And, that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that School, to be a Commoner of New-College in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Win-

chefter.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his Age: and was then transplanted into Queens-College; where within that year, he was by the chief of that College, perswasively injoyned to write a Play for their private use: (it was the Tragedy of Tancredo) which was so interwoven with Sentences, and for the Method and exact perfonating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had in a fleight imployment, given an early, and a folid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some fowr dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial; yet, that wife Knight Baptifta Guarini (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable imployment for his Age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious. About the twentieth year of his Age, he proceeded Master of Aris; and at that time read in Latine three Lectures de Oculo: wherein, he having described the Form, the Motion, the curious composure of the Eye: and, demonstrated, how of those very many, every humour and nerve performed its distinct Office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or consuson; and all this, to the advantage of man, to whom the Eye is given, not only as the Bodies guide, but, whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the Soul,

Soul, this, in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger: teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover, wir, folly, love and hatred: After he had made these Observations he fell to dispute this Optique Question, Whether we see by the Emission of the Beams from within, or Reception of the species from without? and, after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the Conclusion of his Lestures, took a fair occasion to beautifie his Difcourse with a Commendation of the bleffing and benefit of Seeing: By which, we do not only discover Natures Secrets: but, with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great Light of the World, and by it, discover the Fabrick of the Heavens, and both the Order and Motion of the Celestial Orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoyce to behold the bosom of the Earth, our common Mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various Flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those very Flowers) decayes, Withers, and quickly returns again to that Earth, from which both had their first being.

These were so exactly debated, and so Rhetorically heightned, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericas Gentilis (then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford to call him Henrica mi ocelle; which dear expression of his, was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest Friends, and by many other persons of Note, during his stay in

the University.

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But his ftay there was not long; at least, not so long as his Friends once intended: for, the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his Father (whom Sir Henry did never mention without

b 3 this,

this, or fome like reverential expression; as, That good man my Father; or, My Father the best of Men: about that time, this good man changed this for a better life; leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger Sons, a Rent charge of an hundred Mark a year, to be paid for ever, out of some one of his Mannors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a Circumstance or two that concern him, may not be buried without a Relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the Reader to know, that I may promise my self a pardon for a short Digression.

In the year of our Redemption, 1553. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Camerbury (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in France, dream'd, that his Nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his Family.

Doubtless, the good Dean did well know, that common Dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts; or, of the business of the day past; or, are the result of our over engaged affections, when we betake our selves to rest; and knew that the observation of them, may turn to silly Superstitions; as they too often do: But though he might know all this, and might also believe that Prophecies are ceased; yet, doubtless he could not but consider, that all Dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration: and did therefore rather lay this Dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double

double Dream, like that of Pharabh (of which double dreams, the learned have made many observations) and considering that it had no dependance on his awaking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then, he did more seriously consider it; and, remembred that

Almighty God was pleased in a \* St. Austin's Dream to reveal and to assure \* Monica the Mother of St. Austin, that he

her Son for whom the wept to bitterly, and prayed for much should at last become a Christian: This I believe, the good Dean considered; and, considering also, that Almighty God (though the causes of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the Soul in fleep, discovered many things that humane wisdom could not forsee: Upon these considerations, he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his Nephew. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen C'twas Queen Mary) and befought her, That he would canse bis Nephem Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent: and that the Lords of her Council might interrogate bim in some such feigned Questions, as might give a colour for his Commisment into a favourable Prison; declaring, that be would acquaint her Majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to fee, and speak to her Majesty.

'Twas done as the Dean defired : and in Prifon I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the Reader

what followed.

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At this time a Marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain: And though this was concluded with the advice, if not

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by the perswasion of her Privy-Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this Nation : yet, divers persons of a contrary perswasion, did not only declare again lit, but also raised Forces to oppose it; believing (as they faid) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this Nation slaves to Dreams to spread to the

Strangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyar of Boxley-Abbey in Kem (betwixt whose family, and the Family of the Wotcons, there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal Actor; who having perswaded many of the Nobility and Gentry (effecially of Kent) to fide with him and he being defeated, and taken Prifoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and loft his life : So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially hany of the Gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyar's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been if he had not been confind to for, though he could not be imporant that another mans Treafon, makes it mine by comealing it ; yet he thirst confess to his Uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in Prison, what he had more than an imitation of Wyat's metalinas; and, thought he had not continued actually impaged, if his Uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a Prison; out of which place, when he was delivered by the fame hand that caused his Commitment, they both confidered the Dream more Persoully; and then, both joyned in praising God for it; That God who eyes himfelf to no Rules , either in preventing of evil, or in hearing of mercy to those whom of good pleafure be bath chofen to love.

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And this Dream was the more confiderable, because that God, who in the dayes of old did use to fpeak to his people in visions, did feem to speak to many of this Family in dreams : of which I will alfo give the Reader one foort particular of this Thomas Worton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and difcovering things past: And the particular is this: This Thomas, a little before his death, dream'd that the University Treasury was robbed by Towns men, and poor Scholars; and, that the number was five: And being that day to write to his Son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth fo much pains, as by a Poffcript in his Letter, to make a flight Enquiry of it; the Letter (which was writ out of Kene, and dated three years before) came to his Sons hands the very morning after the night in which the Robery was committed; and when the City and University were both in a perplext Enquest of the Thieves, then did Sir Henry Worton flew his Fathers Letter, and by it fuch highe was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without puting the University to so much trouble, as the casting of a Figure.

And it may yet be more confiderable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Worton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foresees the very dayes of their own death: Nicholas did so, being then Seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the fixty fifth year of his age; who being then in London (where he dyed) and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his Body should be carried to Boston; and

though

though he thought his Uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble Monument which he built for him in the Carbedral Church of Canterbury; yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his Funeral. This is some account of this Family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now feem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford; where, after his optick Lecture, he was taken into fuch a busom friendship with the Learned Alberican Gentilis (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the Mathematicks and Law, into the breast of his dear Harry for so Gentilis used to call him:) and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian Language, and those Studies, whereof Gentilis was a great Master, that this friendship between them did dayly increase, and proved dayly advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several Sciences, during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a foreign Nation, though I must omit to mention divers Persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for Lxarning, and Friends to Sir Henry Woston; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne, (sometimes Dean of St. Pauls) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this Nation, and pretends to Learning or Ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know

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him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: And as it was begun in their Youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent Inclinations and Studies, so it lasted till Age and Death forced a Separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his Father's death; at which time, he was about the two and twentieth year of his Age, and having to his great Wit added the ballast of Learning, and knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aside his Books, and betook himself to the useful Library of Travel, and a more general Conversation with Mankind; employing the remaining part of his Youth, his industry and fortune to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich Treasure of Foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of Nature, the dispositions of many Nations, their several Laws and Languages, he was the possession in a very large measure; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my Pen from the sollowing Narration of his Life.

In his Travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva; where he became acquainted with Theodor Beza (then very aged) and with Isaac Cansabon, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare Learning and Ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany the other five in Italy, (the Stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in Rome, Venice and Florence, he

became

became acquainted with the most eminent men for Learning, and all manner of Arts; as Pitture, Seul-pture, Chymistry, Architecture, and other manual Arts, even Arts of inferiour nature; of all which he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many, both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most perswasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet Discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much love from all Persons with whom

he entred into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his Youth to have a sharp Wit, and apt to jest; that, by Time, Travel, and Conversation, was so polish'd, and made so uleful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; infomuch as Robert, Earl of Effex (then one of the Darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries; the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometimes of Merton College in Oxford (and there also the Acquaintance of Sir Henry Worton in his Youth) Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his Learning; nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the faralness of his end.

Sir Henry Wosson being now taken into a ferviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his Counsels and Employments in two Voyages at Sea against the Spaniard and also in that (which was the Earls last) into Ireland; that Voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen

to anger, and worse at his return into England, upon whose immovable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as incouraged him to those undeptakings, which with the help of a contrary Faction suddenly caused his Commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Worson observing this, though he was not of that Faction (for the Earl's Followers were also divided into their several interests) which incouraged the Earl to those undertakings, which proved fo feeal to him, and divers of his Confederation : yet, knowing Treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even Circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle States-men shall project, either for their revenge or fafety; considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England, a better fecurity than to flay in it, and there plead his innocency in a Prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide arough Kent to Dover, without fo much as looking toward his native and beloved Boston; and was by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the Mariners, within fixteen hours after his departure from Lordon, fet upon the French More; where he heard Mortly after, that the Earl was Arraign'd, Condemned, and Beheaded; and that his Friend Mr. Cuffe was hang'd, and divers other Persons of Eminent Quality expented.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir Henry Worron, as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of Sir Edward Worron, his elder Brother, an affurance that his Annuity should be paid him in haly, thirher he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest.

terest, and indeed, his great content in a new conversation with his old Acquaintance in that Nation; and more particularly in Florence, (which City is not more eminent for the Great Dukes Court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for Learning and Arts;) in which number he there met with his old Friend Seignior Vierra, a Gentleman of Venice, and then taken to

be Secretary to the great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he wend the sourth time to visit Rome, where in the English College he had very many Friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their Principles of Religion;) and having enjoyed their company and satisfied himself concerning some Curiosities that did partly occasion his Journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident besel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice Abilities, but introduce him a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the Reader, That though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her Connoil) were never willing to declare her Successor; yet James then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of Kingly Government would be imposed; and the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish perswasion in point of Religion (even Rome it self, and those of this Nation) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing of her Successor, were taken to be original days for destroying or establishing the Processam Religion in this Nation,

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did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed Her. And as the Pope's Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, had both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry Adversary, a \* secular Priest \* Watson in against a Jesuite) you may believe, his Quodlibers, that about that time there were many indeavours, first to excommunicate, and then

to shorten the life of King James.

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Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence, (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth) Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence had intercepted certain Letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then King of Scors. The Duke abhorring the Fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary Vietta, b) what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke; and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his Court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his Friend Vietra to the Duke, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with Letters to the King, and with those Letters, such Iralian Antidotes against poyson, as the Scots

till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the Name and Language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Normay, and through that

Country

Country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Sterling; being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey, one of the Kings Bed-Chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majestry, assuring him, That the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence, as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoyn him suddenly toleave his Native Country of Italy, so impart it to his King.

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King after a little wonder, (mixt with jealousie) to hear of an Italian Ambassador, or Messenger, required his Name, (which was faid to be Ostavio Baldi) and appointed him to be heard

privately at a fixed hour that Evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the Prefence-Chamber-door, he was requested to lay aside his long Rapier (which Italian-like he then wore ) and being entred the Chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scoreh Lords standing distant in several corners of the Chamber : at the fight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, bade bim be bold and deliver bis Meffage; for he would undertake for the secresie of all that were present. Then did Offavio Baldi deliver his Letters and his Message to the King in Italian; which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Ottavio Baldi steps to the Table, and whispers to the King in his own Language, that he was an English man. befeeching him for a more private conference with His Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that Nation; which was promised, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, (which was about three Months) all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King and with as much to Ostavio Baldi himfelf, as

that Country could afford; from which he de-

parted as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he return'd with a fair and grateful account of his imployment, and within some few Months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead; and James King of the Scots proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best Schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Woston had been tutor'd in both, advis'd him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better Title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better imployment.

When King James care into England, he found; amongst other of the late Queens Officers, Sir Edward, who was after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in forreign Travel? The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his Brother; then the King asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice, or Florence; but by late Letters from thence, he understood, he would suddenly be at Paris. Send for him, said the King, and when he shall come into England, hid him repair privately so me. The Lord Woston after a little wonder, asked the King If he knew him? to which the King answered, Tou must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the Gentleman to me.

Not many Months after this Discourse, the Lord Worton brought his Brother to attend the Ring, who took him in His Arms, and bade bira welcome by the Name of Octavio Baldi, saying he was the most bonest, and therefore the best Dissender that

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ever he met with: And said, Seeing I know you neither want Learning, Travel, nor Experience, and that I have had so real a Testimony of your faithfulness & abilities to manage an Ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter: And indeed the King did so most of those two and twenty years of his Reign; but before he dismiss Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old Name of Henry Woston, by which he then Knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having refolved, according to his Motto (Beati pacifici) to have a friendship with his Neighbour-Kingdoms of France and Spain, and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an Alliance with the State of Venice, and to that end to fend Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these Imployments to Sir Henry Wotton; who confidering the smallness of his own Estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the Courts of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his Cenius, who did ever love to joyn with Business, Study, and a Tryal of natural Experiments; for both which fruitful Italy, that Darling of Nature, and Cherifher of all Arts, is so justly fain'd in all parts of the Christian World.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large aliowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a setled maintenance during his stay there, he lest England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by Gentlemen of the best Families and breeding that this Nation afforded;

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they were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted; Sir Alberton Morton his Nephew, who went his Secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wisdom, who went his Chaplain. And, though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private Gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this Voyage, yet the reading of this following Letter sent by him to sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he lest England, may tessifie he wanted not his friends best wishes to attend him.

SIR.

A Feer those revererd Papers, whose soul is (name:
Our good, and great Kings lov'd hand, and fear'd
By which to you he derives much of his,
And, how he may, makes you almost the same;

A Taper of his Torch: a Copy writ From his Original, and a fair Beam Of the same warm and dazling Sup, though it Must in another Sphere his Vertue stream;

After those Learned Papers which your hand Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure 200: From which rich treasury you may command Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving Papers which Friends send
With glad grief to your Sea-ward-steps farewel,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To Heaven on troops at a good man's passing Bell:

name faire

Admit

Admit this honest Paper; and, allow
It such an audience as your self would ask;
What you would say at Venice, this sayes now,
And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love; nor to be chang'd before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor, shall I then bonour your fortune more,
Then I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)

To want, than govern greatness; for we are
In that, our own, and only business;
In this, we must for others vices care.

'Tis sherefore well, your spirits now are plac'd In their last furnace, in activity; (ore-past Which sits them: Schools, and Courts, and Wars To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me! (if there be fuch a thing as 1)
Fortune (if there be fuch a thing us she)
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But, though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
For your encrease, God is as near me here:
And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
In length, and ease, are alike every where.

J. Donne

SIR Henry Weston was received by the State of Venice, with much honour and gladness, both for

for that he delivered his Ambassage most elegantly in the Italian Language, and came also in such a Juncture of time, as his Masters friendship seem'd useful for that Republick: the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Dohato, being then Duke; a wise man, and resolved, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement the eight, some contests about the privileges of Churchmen; and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of common Readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603. the Republick of Venice made several injunctions against Lay-persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church, without Licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that Inhibition, they express their reasons to be, For that when any Goods or Land once came into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof, (the Lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the Clerey grew every day more numerous, and, pretended an exemption from all publick service, and Taxes, and from all secular Judgment: so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be born by the Laity.

Another occasion of difference was, That about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two Clergy-men, the Abbot of Nerve-fa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name; nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a Scandal upon any Calling; (for holiness is not tyed to Ecclesiastical Orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most

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vertuous, and most vicious men of any Nation) these two having been long complained of at Rome in the Name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this Abbor and Canon, and committed

them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the Venerians, had formerly had fome calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the Eighth, and that Republick; I fay, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; confidering (as I conceive) that in the late Council of Trent it was at last (after many Politick disturbances, and delayes, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's prefent power) in order to a general reformation of those many Errors, which were in time crept into the Church, declar'd by that Councel, That though Discipline, and especial Excommunication be one of the chief sinews of Church Government and intended to keep men in obedience to it : for which end, it was declar'd to be very profitable; yet, it was also declar'd, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care : because experience had informed them, that when it was prosounced unadvisedly or raphly it became more contemn'd than fear'd. And, though this was the advice of that Council at the Conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians yet this prudent, patient, Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul the fifth, who succeeded him, (though not immediately, yet in the fame year) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venerians to a much higher Contention: objecting those late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty four days for their revocation; threatning,

ning, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to Excommunication of the Republick; who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their Actions. But this Pope, contrary to his Predecessors moderation, required absolute abedience

without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year; the Pope still threatning Excommunication, and the Venerians still answering him with fair speeches, and no complyance, till at last, the Popes zeal to the Asosolick See, did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole Senate, and all their Dominions; and that done to shut up all their Churches; charging the whole Clergy to sorbear all sacred Offices to the Venerians, till their Obedience should render them capable of Absolution.

But this all of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venerians in their resolution not to obey him; And to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's Interdell, they presently published by sound of Trumpet, a Pro-

clamation to this effett :

That whosoever hath received from Rome any Copy of a Papal Interdict, published there, as well against the Law of God, as against the Honour of this Nation, shall presently render it to the Councel of Ten, upon pain of death.

Then was Duado their Ambassador call'd bome from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by Order of the State; and, the Flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scotting wit might safely vent it against the Pope, either by free speaking, or by Libels in Print; and, both became very pleasant to the people.

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Matters thus heightned, the State advised with Father Paul, a Holy and Learned Frier (the Author of the History of the Council of Trem) whose advice was, Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own Right: he declaring publickly in Print, in the name of the State, That the Pope was trusted to keep two Keys; one of Prudence, and the other of Power: And that if they were not both used together, Power alone

is not effectual in an Excommunication.

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued till a report was blown abroad, that the Venerians were all turned Procestants: which was believed by many, for that it was observ'd, the Engliff Ambassadour was so often in conference with the Senate, and his Chaplain Mr. Bedel more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his Friend: And also, for that the Republick of Venice was known to give Commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their Ambassadour in England, to make all these Proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a Promise of his affistance. if need fhould require: and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same which he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the Crown of England; (that Pope then moving him to an Union with the Roman Church) namely, To endeavour the calling of a free Council for the settlement of Feace in Christendom : and, that he doubted not but that the French King, and divers other Princes would joyn to affift in fo good a work; and, in the mean time, the fin of this Breach, both with His. and the Venetians Dominions, must of necessity lie at she Pope's door.

years) the Pose grew still higher, and the Venetians

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more and more resov'd and careless: ftill acquainting King Tames with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel. and Padre Panlo, whom the Venerians did then call to be one of their Consulters of State, and with his Pen to defend their just Cause: which was by hlin fo performed, that the Pope faw plainly, he had weakned his Power by exceeding it, and offered the Venerians Absolution upon very easie terms; which the Venetians still flighting, did at last obtain, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it. For they made an order, that in that day in which they were Absolv'd, there should be no Publick Rejoycing, nor any Bonfires that night; left the Common People might judge, that they defired an Absolution, or were Absolved for committing a Fault.

These Contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James, for whose fake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of Trene; which History was, as fast as it was written, fent in several sheets in Letters by Sir Henry Worton. Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made publick, both in English and in the uni-

verfal Language.

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For eight years after Sir Henry Worton's going into Italy, he stood fair and higly valued in the Kings opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Ambassadour into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta; where having been in his former Travels, well known by many of the best note for Learning and

and Ingeniousness, (those that are esteemed the Vertuosi of that Nation) with whom he passing an Evening in Merriments, was requested by Christopher Fiscamore to write some Sentence in his Albo; (a Book of white Paper, which for that purpose many of the German Gentry usually carry about them) and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassadour, in these very words:

Legatus est vir bonnu peregrè missiu ad mentiendum Reipublice causa.

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

An Ambassadour is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his Country.

But the word for lye (being the hinge upon which the Conceir was to turn) was not so express in Latine, as would admit (in the hands of an Enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this Albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Japer Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious Pen: who with Books against King James, Prints this as a Principle of that Religion professed by the King, and his Ambassadour Sir Henry Worton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several Glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

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This coming to the knowledge of King Fames, he apprehended it to be fuch an overlight, fuch a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton as caused the King to express much wrath against him: and this caused Sir Henry Weston to write two Apologies; one to Velferns, (one of the Chiefs of Augusta) in the universal Language, which he caused to be Printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an Antidote against the venemous Books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King James: which were both fo ingenious, fo clear, and fo choicely Eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure Judge of it) could not forbear, at the receit thereof, to declare publickly, That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted Sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well fet become stronger; so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesties estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that Man of great Wit and useful Fancy (his Friend Dr. Donne) gave in a Will of his (a Will of Conceits) his Reputation to his Friends, and his Industry to his Foe because from thence he received both: so those Friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those Acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the surface to become more industriously watchful over his Tongue and Pen.

I have told you a part of his Employment in Italy, where notwithstanding the death of his Fa-

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vorer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had undissembled affection for him, and the malicious Acculation of Scioppins; yet his interest (as though it had been an intail'd love)was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding Dukes, during his Employment to that State, which was almost twenty years; all which time he fludied the difpositions of those Dukes, and the other Consulters of State; well knowing, that he who negotiates a continued bufiness, and neglects the study of difpolitions, usually fails in his proposed ends : But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine forting of fit Presents, curious and not costly Entertainments, always sweethed by various and pleafant Discourse; with which, and his choice application of Stories, and his elegant Delivery of all thefe, even in their Italian Language, he first got, and still preserv'd such interest in the State of Venice, that it was observed (fuch was either his merit, or his Modelty) they never denied him any request.

But, all this shews but his abilities, and his strees for that Employment: 'Twill therefore be needful to tell the Reader, what use he made of the Interest which these procured him; and that indeed was, rather to oblige others that to enrich himself; he still indeavoring that the Reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German Empire, and in Italy; where many Gentlemen, whom Travel had invited into that Nation, received from him chearful Entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter, or deliverance from those accidental storms of adver-

fity which usually attend upon Travel.

And because these things may appear to the Reader

Reader to be but Generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular Examples; one of his Merciful Disposition, and one of the Nobleness of his

Mind; which shall follow.

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There had been many English Souldiers brought by Commanders of their own Country, to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk: and those English, having by Irregularisies, or Improvidence, brought themselves into several Gallies and Prifons, Sir Henry Worton became a Petitioner to that State for their Lives and Enlargement; and his Request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad Examples of Humane Misery, by hard Imprisonment, and unpitied Poverty in a strange Nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable Condition sent to thank God and him for their Lives and Liberty in their own Country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate Nature of him, who was (during his stay in those parts) as a City of Resuge for the

Diffressed of this and other Nations.

And for that which I offer as a Testimony of the Nobleness of his Mind; I shall make way to the Readers clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other foreign Employments, Sir Henry Woston was sent thrice Ambassadour to the Republick of Venice; and at his last going thither he was employed Ambassadour to several of the German Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando the second; and that his Employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable Conditions, for the Restauration of the Queem of Bohemia, and her Descendents, to their Patrimonial Inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was by his eight Months constant endeavors and attendance upon the Emperor, his Court and Councel, brought to a probability of a fuccessful Conclusion without blood-shed: but there was at that time two opposite Armies in the Field; and as they were Treating, there was a Battle fought; in the managery whereof, there was fo many miserable Errors on the one side, (so Sir Henry Woston expresses it in a Dispatch to the King) and so advantageous Events to the Emperour, as put an end to all present Hopes of a successful Treaty: fo that Sir Henry seeing the face of Peace altered by that Victory, prepared for a Removal from that Court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was fo bold as to remember him, That the Events of every Battle move on the unseen Wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next : and therefore humbly advised him to use his Victory so Soberly as still to put on thoughts of Peace. Which advice, though it feemed to be spoke with some Pasfion, (his dear Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia, being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the Emperor, who replied, That he would consider his Advice: And though he looked on the King his Mafter as an Abettor of his Enemy the Pauligrave; yet for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such, during the manage of the Treaty, that he took him to be a Person of much Honour and Merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him; which was a Jewel of Diamonds of more value than a Thoufand Pounds.

This Jewel was received with all outward Circumstances and Terms of Honour by Sir Henry Woston: but the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he at his taking leave of the Countels.

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of Sabrina (an Italian Lady, in whose House the Emperor had appointed him to be lodg'd, and honorably entertained:) he acknowledged her Merits, and befought her to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her Civilities: presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a Messenger. To which he replied, That though he received it with thankfulness, yet be found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an Enemy to his Royal Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia; for so she was pleased he

should always call her.

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Many other of his Services to his Prince, and this Nation, might be infifted upon: as namely, his procurations of Privileges and Courtesies with the German Princes, and the Republick of Venice, for the English Merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venerian State. concerning the Bishop of Spalato's feturn to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of thefe, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some Papers that might inform me, (his late Majesties Letter office having now suffered a ftrange alienation) and indeed I want time too; for the Printers Press stays for what is written : fo that I must haste to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the Reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the Infcription under his Arms, which he left at all those Houses where he rested, or lodged. when he return'd from his last Embally into England.

Henricus Wettonius Anglo Camiamus, Thomae

optimi viri filius natu minimus, à serenissino Jacob. I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confæderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bu ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudia Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniae Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum secundum Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

#### Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.

To London he came the year before King James died; who having for the reward of his foreign fervice, promifed him the reversion of an Office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he out-lived charitable Sir Julius Casar, who then possessed it: and then, grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond Natures Course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But, these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support: For in the beginning of these imployments he sold to his elder Brother, the Lord Wotton, the Rent-charge lest by his good Father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfie, but by the Kings payment of his Arrears due for his foreign imployments He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian Artists; this was

part

part of his condition; who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: (For it may by no means be faid of his Providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, That it was the very measure of congruity) He being always so careless of Money, as though our Saviour's words, Care not for to morrow, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of Providence that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of His Majestie's College of Eason became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for, which there were (as the place deferv'd) many earnest and powerful Suiters to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Siciphus) rolled the reftless from of a State-imployment; knowing experimentally, thit the great blefling of fweet content was not to be found in multitudes of Men or Buliness: and, that a College was the fittest place to nourish boly thoughts, and to afford rest both to his Body and Mind, which his Age being now almost threefcore years feemed to require, did therefore wie his own, and the interest of all his Friends to procure that Place. which means, and quitting the King of his promited reversionary Offices, and a piece of houest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a Grant of it from His Majesty.

And this was a fair farisfaction to his Afind: but Monty was wanting to furnish him with thole Necessaries which attend removes, and a fettlement in such a Place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old Friend Mr. Nicholas Rey, for his assistance; of which Nicholas Pey, I shall here say a little; for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention

hereafter.

He was in his youth a Clerk, or in some such way , a Servant to the Lord Worton, Sir Henry's Brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's Houshold, was made a great Officer in His Majestie's House. This, and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical bonefty ) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude exprest by a willing and unwearied ferviceableness to that Family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at Court, to procure Five hundred pounds of his Arrears (for less would not fettle him in the College ) and the want of fuch a Sum, wrinckled his face with care; (twas his own expression) and, that Money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his College, and Invidia remedium writ over his Sindy door.

This Money, being part of his Arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest Niebolas Pey's interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the College; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning: the College being to his mind, as a quiet Harbor to a Sea-saring man after a tempestuous Voyage; where, by the bounty of the Pious Founder, his very Food and Rayment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more Money than enough, where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a Rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a Calm, and looking down, behold the busic multitude turmoil'd and tossed in a tempessuous Sea of trouble and dangers. And (as Sir William Davenane has happily express the like of another Person)

Laugh

Laugh at the graver business of the State, Which speak men rather wife than fortunate.

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Being thus letled according to the delites of his beart, his first study was the Statutes of the College: by which, he conceiv'd himfelf bound to enter into Holy Orders, which he did; being made Deacon with all convenient speed; shortly after which time, as he came in his Surplice from the Churchfervice, an old Friend, a Person of Quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit; to whom Sir Henry Worton replied, I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that Emperor Charles the Fifth, feem'd to approve : who, after fo many remarkable Victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his Crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip bis Son, making a holy retreat to a Cloysteral life, where be might by devous meditations confult mith God, (which the rich or busie men seldoin do) and have leifure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions : And ofter a kind of tempestious life, I now have the like anvantage from him, that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him; even from my God, whom I daily magnific for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintemence, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the plenfures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity.

And now to speak a little of the imployment of his time in the College. After his customary Pub-

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lick Devotions, his use was to retire into his Study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and Authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private Prayer; this was, for the most part, his imployment in the Forenoon: But, when he was once sate to Dinner, then nothing but chearful thoughts possess his mind; and, shole still increased by constant company at his Table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of Learning and Pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in Philosophical Conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of Angling, which he would usually call, his idle time, nor idlely spent; saying often, he would rather live five May Mombs, than forty Decembers.

He was a great lover of his Neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his Table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse

better.

He was a constant Cherisher of all those youths in that School, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a Genius that prompted them to Learning; for whose encouragement, he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of Pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the Pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin Historians, Poets, and Orators; perswading them not to neglect Phetorick, because Almighty God has left Mankina affections to be wrought upon. And he would often say, That none despited Eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it. He would also often make choice of some Observations out of those Historians and Poets: and would never leave the School, without dropping some choice Greek

Greek or Lain Apathegm or Sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing Scholar.

He was pleafed constantly to breed up one or more hopeful Youths, which he picked out of the School, and took into his own Domestick care, and to attend him at his Meals; out of whose Discourse, and Behaviour, he gathered Observations for the better compleating of his intended work of Education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to Posterity.

He was a great Enemy to wrangling Disputes of Religion, concerning which, I shall say a little, both to testifie that, and to shew the readiness of

his Wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant Priest, who invited him one Evening to hear their Vesper Musick at Church; the Priest seeing Sir Hemy stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a Boy of the Quire this Question, writ in a small piece of Paper, Where was your Religion to be found before Luther? To which Question Sir Henry presently under-writ, My Religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written Word of God.

The next Vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same Church, and sent one of the Quire-boyes with this Question, to his honest, pleasant friend, the Priest; Do you believe all those many Thousands of poor Christians were damn'd, that were Excommon nicated, because the Pope, and the Duke of Venice, could not agree about their Temporal Power? Speak your Conscience. To which he under-writin French Monsiew, excusay moy.

Commonwell ?

To one that asked him, Whether a Papift may be faved? he replied. You may be faved withour knowing

that. Look to your felf.
To another, whole earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was fill raiting against the Papifts, he gave this advice, Pray Sir forbear, till you have fludied the Points better; for the wife Italians have this Proverb : He that understands amil's, concludes worse : And take heed of thinking, The farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.

And to another that spake indiffereet, and bitter words again & Arminius, I heard him reply to this

purpole :

In my travel towards Venice, as I past through Germany, I refred atmost a year at Leyden, where I entred into an acquaintance with Arminius (then the Profesfor of Divinity in that University) a man much talk d of in this A e, which is made up of opposition and Controversie: And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions as so weak a Brain as mine is may easily do) then I know I differ from him in some points ; yet, I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare Learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek foirit. And that he was fo mild, appears by his Propofals to our Master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose Book, of the Order and Canses of Salvation (which was first writ in Latin) Arminius took the occasion of writing some Queries to him concernity the confequents of his Doctrine, imending them ( 'tis faid ) to come privately to Mr. Perkins own bands, and to receive from him, a like private, and a The loving Answer: But, Mr. Perkins died before those Queries came to him; and its thought Arminius meant them to die with him; for though he lived long after. I have beard he forbore to publish them, (but fince

his death, his Sons did not :) And 'tis piry, if God bad been fo pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see. consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanstified Learning: And though fince their deaths, many of high Parts and Piery have undertaken to clear the Comroverfie, yet, for the most part, they have rather fatisfied themfelves shan convinced the diffenting Party. And doubilefs many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well) many Scholars that are not in the highest Form for Learning, (which yet may preach well) Men that are but Preachers, and shall never know, till they come to Heaven, where the Questions stick betwin Arminius and the Church of England, (if there be any) will yet in this world be sampering with, and thereby perplexing the Controversie, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude, for being Busie-bodies, and for medling with things they understand not.

And here it offers it self (I think not unfitly) to tell the Reader, that a Friend of Sir Henry Woston's, being designed for the imployment of an Ambassador, came to Eason, and requested from him some experimental Rules for his Prudent and Safe Carriage in his Negotiations; to whom he smillingly gave this for an infallible Aphorism; That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his Countrey, he should always, and upon all occasions speak the truth (it seems a State-Paradox) for, says Sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means, your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill also put your Adversaries (who will still bunt counter) to a loss in all their distance.

quisitions, and undertakings.

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a

little ftop, and invite the Reader to look back with me, whilst according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertas Morton, and Mr. William

Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my Reader; that at Sit Henry Wotton's first going Ambassador into Iraly, his Coulin, Sir Albert Morton, went his Secretary : and am next to tell you, that Sir Albertus died, Secretary of State to our late King; but, cannot and not able to express the forrow that possest Sir Henry Worton at his first hearing the News that Sir Alberrus was by death loft to him and this world; and yet, the Reader may partly guess by these fol-lowing Expressions: The first in a Letter to his Nicholas Per, of which this that followeth is a part. And My dear Nick, When I had been here almost a forenight, in the midst of my great conteniment, I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton his departure one of this World, who was dearer to me, than mine own Being in it ; what a wound it is to my beart, you that knew bim, and know me, will easily believe : but, our Creators Will must be done, and wrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh to himfelf now one, and then another, sill that expected day, wherein it shall please him to diffolve the whole, and wrap up even the Heaven it felf as a Scroul of Parchment : This is the last Philosophy that we must study upon Earth; let we therefore that yer remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce but love to each other; which of all vertues, both spiritual and moral, barb the bighest privilege, because death it felf cannot end it. And my good Nick, &c.

This is a part of his forrow thus exprest to his Nick Pey; the other part is in this following Elogy, of which the Reader may safely conclude, twastoo hearty to be dissembled.

Tears

Tears wept at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton, by Henry Wotton.

S llence in truth would speak my sorrow best,

For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell;

Tet let me borrow from mine own unrest,

A time to bid him whom I loved, farewell.

Oh, my unbappy lines! you that before Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries, And now congeal d with grief, can scarce implore Strength to accent, Here my Albertus lies.

This is that Sable Stone, this is the Cave And womb of Earth, that doth his Corps embrace; While others fing his praise, let me ingrave These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of Woe; Here will I pay my Tribute to the Dead; And here my faithful Tears in showres shall flow To humanize the Flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone, And none between my weakness judge and me; Tet even these pensive Walls allow my moan, Whose doleful Echoes to my Plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here, As if some Muse would issen to my lay? When all dis-tun'd sit waiting for their dear, And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless Bliss with happy Souls, Discharged from Natures and from Fortunes Trust; Whilf on this fluid Globe my Hour-glass rowls, And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall fay concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the Reader, by telling him, That when King James fent Sir Henry Wotton Amhaffador to the State of Venice, he fent also an Ambaffador to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain: with the Ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, (late Bishop of Norwich) whose many and useful Works speak his great Merit: with the Ambassador of Spain went Ja. Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three Chaplains to these three Ambassadors, were all bred in one Uni-\* Emanuel Col- versity, all of one \* College, all

bridge.

lege in Cam- Benefic'd in one Dioces, and all most dear and intire Friends: But in Spain Mr. Wadsworth met with

Temptations, or Reasons, such as were so powerful, as to perswade him (who of the three, was formerly observ'd to be the most averse to that Religion that calls it felf Carbolick) to disclaim himself a Member of the Church of England, and declare himself for the Church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a Monasterial life; in which he lived very regularly, and fo died.

When Dr. Hall (the late Bishop of Norwich) came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth, ('tis the first Epistle in his Printed Decads) to perswade his

return,

return, or to shew the reason of his Apostacy; the Letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old Friend Mr. Bedel with his Motives; by which means there past betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers Letters, which be extant in Print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controverse, not of Religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meeknes: which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a Book-War.

There is yet a little more to be faid of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which, the Reader is referred to this following Letter of Sir Henry Woston's,

writ to our late King Charles the First.

May it please Your most Gracious Majesty, Aving been informed that certain Persons have, by 1 the good milhes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been dire Ted hither, with a most humble Petition unto Tour Majesty, that You will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small Benefice in Suffolk) Governor of Your College at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and my felf being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the faid William Bedel, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first Employment there; I am bound in all Conscience and Truth ( fo far as Your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor Judgment) to affirm of him, That I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge could have been propounded unto Tour Majefty in Your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal so advance the Caufe of God; toberein his Travels

vels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the Excom-

munication of the Venetians.

For it may please Tour Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholastical and Positive, than from any that he had ever practifed in his dayes; of which, all the passages were well known to the King Your Father, of most blessed Memory. And so with Your Majestics good favour, I will end this needless Office; for the general Fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian temper, and those Religious Labours which himself hath dedicated to Your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

# Your MAJESTIES Most humble and faithful Servant,

H. WOTTON.

O this Letter, I shall add this; That he was (to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton) made Governor of the faid College; August, 1627. and that \* after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore. \* In both which places, his life was fo \* Sept. 3. 1629. holy, as feemed to equal the Primitive Christians; for as they, fo he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed (besides his private Devotions) the Canonical hours of Prayer very strictly, and so he did all the Feasts, and Fastdayes of his Mother, the Church of England's to

to which I may add, that his Patience and Charley were both fach, as shewed his affections were fet upon things that are above; for indeed his whole life brought forth the fruits of the Spirit; there being in him fuch a remarkable meeknefs, that as St. Paul advised his Timorby in the

Election of a Bilhop , \* That be \* 1 Tim. 3.7.

have a good report of those that be without; fo had he, for those that were without, even those that in Point of Religion, whereof the Roman perfwalion (of which there were very many in his Diocess) did yet (fuch is the power of visible Piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence; and, testified it, by a concealing, and fale protecting him from Death in the late horrid Rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irifh knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there, and then, he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary perswasion; and there, and then lie died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet Prison. (1629.) And, with him was loft many of his learned Writings, which were thought worthy of prefervation; and amongst the rell, was lost the Bible, which by many years labour, and conference, and fludy, he had translated into the Irish Tongue, with an intent to have Printed it for Publick ufe.

More might be faid of Mr. Bedel, who (Frold the Reader) was Sir Henry Worton's first Chaplain; and much of his fecond Chaplain, Ifaac Bargrave, Doctor in Divinity, and the late Learned and Hofpitable Dean of Camerbury; as also of the Merit of many others, that had the happiness to artend Sir Henry in his foreign imployments : But, the Reader may think that in this digression, I have

already carried him too far from Earon-College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently, and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further confe-

rence concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had propos'd to himself before he entred into his Collegiate life, to write the Life of Marein Luther; and in it, the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: For the doing of which, he had many advantages by his feveral Embaffies into those Parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the Empire; by whose means he had access to the Records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many fecret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late Reverend Bilhop of Salisbury; but in the midft of this delign, His late Majesty, King Charles the First, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's Pen, did by a perswasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of soo l. a year) force him to lay Luber alide, and betake himself to write the History of England; in which he proceeded to write some short Characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for bresent, meant to be more large in the Story of Heary the Sixth, the Founder of that College, in which he then enjoy'd all the worldly happiness of his present being; but Sir Henry dyed in the midft of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is fome account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the College, where he feemed to have his Touch renewed

by a continual conversation with that Learned Society, and a daily recourse of other Friends of choicest Breeding and Parts; by which, that great bleffing of a chearful heart was still maintained; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends Age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damp'd by the remembrance of divers old Debts, partly contracted in his foreign Imployments, for which his just Arrears due from the King, would have made satisfaction; but, being still delayed with Court-promises, and finding some decayes of health, he did about two years before his death, out of a Christian defire, that none should be a loser by it, make his last Will; concerning which, a doubt still remains, whether it discovered more holy wit, or consciouable policy: But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a Christian Endeavour that his Debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as fuch a Testimony, and a Legacy to those that lov'd him, I shall here impart it to the Reader, as it was found writ with his

own hand.

IN the Name of God Almighty and All-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of His Majestie's College by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first Parents did bring upon all stess, Do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of my self, and the poor things I shall leave in this World. My Soul, I bequeath to the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer, and Mediator, through nis all-sole sufficent satisfaction for the sus of the whole World, and efficient for his Elect; in the number of whom, I am one by his meer grace, and thereof most more-

unremoveably affered by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the Earth of I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chappel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knows) in all loving affection; or If I shall dye near Bocton Malherb, in the County of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish Church, as near as may be so the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful Resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his Faich, and this Surrender of his Soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his Body, he proceeded to appoint that his Executors should lay over his Grave a Marble Stone, plain, and not costly: And considering that time monders even Marble

Juven.

to dust; (for Monuments the meles ves

the common way) think fit rather to preferve his name (to which the Son of Sirac adviseth all men) by an useful Aparbagm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, (of both which he might justly have boasted:) but, he was content to forget them, and did chuse only this prudent, pious Sentence, to discover his Disposition, and preserve his Memor).

Twas directed by him, to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet bujus Sententia primus Author.

#### DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLE-SIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen alias quare,

Which may be Englished thus, Here lies the first Author of this Sentence.

THE

# THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION, WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire his name elsewhere.

al III dill di

And if any shall object, as I think some have. That Sir Henry Wotton was not the first Author of this Sentence; but, that this, or a Sentence like it, was long before his time; To him I answer, that Solomon fays, Nothing can be fooken; that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the Sun. But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like Sentence; yet reason mixt with Charity should perswade all Readers to believe. That Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then fo fix'd on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy Lethargy did furprize his Memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himfelf to be the first Author of what he faid, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the publick view, and censure of every Critick. And questionless, 'twill be charity in all Readers, to think his mind was then fo fix'd on Heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him: and that in this Sacred Extalie, his thoughts were then only of the Church Triumphant, (into which he daily expected his admission). And that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a Propher, to tell the Church Militant, and particularly that part of it in this Nation where the weeds of Controverse grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble Plety: and where men have Consciences that boggle at Ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and alt such fins as the ancient humble Chri-Rians believed to be a fin to think : and whereas our Reverend

Reverend Hooker lays, former Simplicity, and softness of Spirit, is not now to be found, because Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness: it will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this Epicaph to be an useful Caution unto us of this Nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have prov'd it to be a mournful Truth.

This by way of Observation concerning his Epitaph: The rest of his Will follows in his own

words.

Further, I the faid Henry Wotton, do confinme and ordain to be joynt Executors of this my last Will & Testament, my two Grand-Nephews, Albert Morton, fecond fon to Sir Robert Morton Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Batgrave, Dean of Canterbury, Husband to my Right Vertuoms and only Niece. And I do pray the forefaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison, one of the Fellows of Eaton College, best acquainted with my Books and Pictures, and other Utenfils, to be Supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be Solicitors for [uch Arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his Majesties Exchequer at the time of my death; and to affift my fore-named Executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my Credisors, and discharge of my Legacies now specified; or, that shall be bereafter added unto this my Testament, by any Codicil or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in any Memorial with the aforefaid Mr. John Hartison. And first. To my most dear Soveraign and Master of incomparable Goodness, (in whose gracious opinion, I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain boneft

honest man) I leave four Pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose sime I was there imployed, with their Names written on the back side, which hang in my great ordinary Dining-room, done after the Life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a Table of the Venetian College, where Ambassadors had their Audience, hanging over the Mantle of the Chimney in the said Room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the samous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. It' The Picture of a Duke of Venice hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseching his Majesty, that the said Pieces may remain in some corner of any of his Houses, for a poor Memorial of his most

humble valfal.

It' I leave his faid Majesty all the Papers and Negotiarions of Sir Nich. Throgmorton Knight during his famous imployment under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preferved in his Paper office, after they have been perused and forted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have beretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton, his Son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. It' I leave to our most Gracious and Vertuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the Plants naturally coloured, and the Text translated by Matthiolo, in the best Language of Tuscany, whene ber said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince she Picture of the elected and crown-

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ed Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, of clear and resplendent vertues through the clouds of her Fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my Pi-Eture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's Galleries, of my presentation to His Majesty : beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great Wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity, and contempt of earthly Pomp; I leave a Picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world: Most humbly befeeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tafted in my life time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, That out of compassionate memory of my long Services ( wherein I more studied the publick Honour, than mine own Utility) some Order may be taken out of my Arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my Creditors, as those whom I have Ordained Supervifors of this my last Will and Testament shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble : Hoping likewise in His Majestie's most indubitable Goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise Suffer by any defect of formality in the Demand of my faid To -for a poor addition to his Cabinet, Ileave as Emblems of his attradive Vertues, and Obliging Nobleness, my great Loadstone; and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of Concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Crystal Sexangular, (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhatian Alps, in the very place where it grew: recommending most humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor Name in the point of my Debts, as I bave

bave done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords; and am heartily forry, that I have no better token of my humble thank fulness to his honoured Person. It' I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of His Majestie's principal Secretaries of State, (whom I found my great Friend in point of Necessity) the four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the Eye in his Parlour, (being in little form) which I bought at Venice, where I first entred into his most worthy Acquaintance.

To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian Books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba, which bath been twice with me in Italy, in which Country I first contracted with him an unremoveable Affection. To my other Supervisor Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all

\* In it were Ita-

lian Locks, Pick-

locks, Screws to

force open doors,

and many things of

worth and rarity,

that he had ga-

thered in his foreign Travel.

kinds of Oses: in \* the lower box whereof, are some fix to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest Man as he is. I leave him likewise forty Pound for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears, and am sorry that my tagged Estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my soreign Imployments. To the Li-

- o stie

brary at Eaton College I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of Gold, enamel d black; all save the verge, with this

Moreo within, Amor unit omnia.

This is my last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a Schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the first of October, in the present year of our Re-

demption 1637. And subscribed by my self, with the Testimony of these Witnesses.

HENRY WOTTON.

Nich. Oudert. Geo. Lash.

A Nd now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of Events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his Will, did gladly receive their Legacies; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joyned in assisting the Overseers of his Will; and by their joynt endeavours to the King (then whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader, is, That he went usually once a year, if not oftner, to the beloved Boston-Hall, where he would say, he found a cure for all cares, by the chearful company, which he called the living surniture of that place: and, a restoration of his strength by the Connaturalness of that, which he called his genial air.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the Summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester-College; to which School he was first removed from Boston. And as he returned from Winchester, towards Eaton College; said to a friend, his Companion in that Journey; How insessed to perform his Customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place, we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us arour last being there; And I find it thus for experiment.

sally

tally true; that, at my now being in that School, and feeing that very place where I sate when I was a Boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow paced) had changed my youth into manhood: But, age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes: For I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretel, Sufficient for the day is the evil thereos. Nevertheless I saw there a succession of Boyes using the same recreations, and, questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus, one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths.

After his return from Winchester to Eaton (which was about five Months before his death) he berame much more retir'd, and contemplative; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (learned Mr. John Hales) then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose-I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those Joys of which a discoursive soul is capable: and, being entertain'd with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm Sea of Content; but have often met with crofs winds & forms, and, with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet though I have been and am a man compass'd about with humane frailises, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwrack of faith & a good Conscience; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and, I most humbly praise him for it; And, I bumbly acknowledge that it was not my felf but he that bash

bath kept me to this great age, and, let him take the glory of his great mercy .- And, my dear Friend . I now fee that I draw near my harbour of death : that harbour, that will secure me from all the future storms and wares of this reftless world; and, I praise God I amwilling to leave it, and expect a better; that world, wherein dwelleth Righteousness .- These, and the like expressions were then utter'd by him at the beginning of a Feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an Afthma, or short spitting; but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar Physick and a spare Diet, this Fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him : and , his Afthma feem'd also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing Tabaco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken fomewhat immoderately. -- This was his then present condition; and, thus he continued till about the end of Odober 1639. which was about a month before his death, at which time, he again fell into a Fever, which, though he feem'd to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that a company age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and, after some short time to leave him; came now, both oftner and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakning his Body and abating his chearfulness: of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftner retire into his Study, and there made many Papers that had pass'd his Pent oth in the days of his youth, and in the busie part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpole. These and several unusual Expressions to his Servants and Friends, feem'd to foretel that

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#### The Life of Sit Henry Wotton.

the day of his death drew near: for which, he feem'd to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepar'd, and to be both patient, and free from all fear, as several of his Letters writ on this his last sick bed may tekise: and thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seiz'd more violently with a Quotidian Fever, in the tenth fit of which Fever, his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and chearfulness as humane frailty is capable of; being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and Man.

And thus the Circle of Sir Henry Wotton's Life—
(that Circle which began at Botton, and in the Circumference thereof, did first touch at WinchesterSchool, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom;) That
Circle of his Life, was by Death thus closed up and
compleated, in the seventy and second year of his
Age, at Eaton-College, where, according to his
Will, he now lies buried, with his Motto on a
plain Grave-stone over him; dying, worthy of
his Name and Family, worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes, and Persons of eminent
Wisdom and Learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the Service of his Prince and
Countrey.

And all Readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy Pen, to have preserved nis Memory, and commended his Merits to the imitation of Posterity.

Iz. Wa.

### 

AN

# ELEGIE

ON

Sir HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT

By Mr. ABRAHAMCOWLEY.

Who when he spoke all things would silent be. Who had so many Languages in store, That only fame shall speak of him in more. Whom England now no more return'd must fee : He's gone to Heaven, on bis fourth Embassie. On Earth be travel'd often, not to fay H'ad been abroad to pass loose time away : For, in what ever Land be chanc'd to come. He read the men and manners : bringing bome Their Wisdom, Learning, and their Piety, As if he went to Conquer, not to fee. So well be understood the most and best Of Tongues, that Babel fent into the West : Spoke them fo truly, that he had (you'd frear) Not only liv'd, but, been born every where. Justly each Nations speech to him was known: Who for the World was made, not we alone.

Nor,

#### an Elegy on Sit Henry Wotton.

Nor, ought the Language of that man be less who in his breast had all things to express; We say that Learning's endless, and Blame sate For not allowing life a langer date:
He did the utmost bounds of Knowledge sind; And found them not so large as was his mind:
But, like the brave Pellean youth did moan, Because that Art had no more Worlds than one. And, when he saw that he through all had past, He dy'd, less he should Idle grow at last.

A. Cowley.

# MARCO VELSERO

#### Duumviro Augustæ Vindelicæ. HENRICUS WOTTONIUS

S. O.

Privatim antehac ad te aliquoties scripsi; Nunc causa est ut publice quoque id faciam: Hac, qualis sit, quaso audias. Prostabat Francosurti superioribus Nundinis opus quoddam, si molem spettes (quod sere su) non sure de insimis, cum hacinscriptione;

Gasparis Scioppii Ecclesiasticus, authoritati Sere-

nisimi Domini Jacobi Regis oppositus.

In quo cum argumento magnam partem novo, tum exemplo nemini adhuc ufitato, & catera

que eandem modestiam sapiunt.

Hujus operi consutor cum farraginem rerum undeeunque emendicaret, videtur nescio quo modo incidere in jocosam Legati definitionem, quam jam ante octennium istac transiens apud amicum virum Christophorum Fleckamerum forte posueram in Albo Amicorum more Teutonico, his ipsis verbis; Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ caussà. Definitio adeò fortaffe catholica, ut completti possit etiam Legatos à latere. Quid hic, obsecro, facit Scioppius? Reserat familiaritatis scrinia, resuscitat, post tot annos, ob-Soletos Sales, jam ipsa verustate ab inquierudine redempros; ornat me, pro bumanitate sua, clementissima interpretatione, tanquam id non solum serso, sed & jastanter scripfiffem ; Neque boc contentus, conatur quoque intemeratum Optimi Regis nomen per jocos meos in invidiam trabere, quasi Domini prastare tenerentur etiam servorum Infus: Postremo ad honest andam perulantiam suam locum

#### a Letter to Marcus Velserus.

unum atque alterum ex Esaia Solomone lepide intermiscet, ut nihil est tutum à profanis ingeniis. Hec in me fateor cecidisse miro seculo. Quis enim putarat nafciturum hominem impatientem brevis joci super Legatorum licentia qui tantum politica agitant, ubi indies videmus ipsam Sacrosancta Theologia severitatem à quibusdam Aquivocationum, mentalium reservationum, & piarum fraudum Magistris tam fæde constupratam ? neque boc obiter, aut josose, aut in Albis Amicorum, ubi vana veraque pari securitate tam scribi quam depingi folent: sed ex profeso, & de suggestu, & cum privilegio & authoritate Superiorum. Verum Scioppius est qui surrexit. Et quid expectet me responsurum? Sant memini familiam meam cum Venetiis effem Anathemase percuffam in Paranesi Baroniana. Memini tum etiam a Gomitulo Jesuita Perusino, & ab Antonio Possevino ejustem farina quadam in me jacta: Qua quanquam ab exulceratis animis effluerent utcunque tacitus ferebam ! Quippe hi (rant viri non indigna existimationis saltem apud suos: & ipsorum authorum qualiscunque claritudo leniebat injuriam : Sed cum famelicus transfuga & Romana curia lutulentus circulator scriptitat solum ut prandere possit; Cum semicoltus Grammaticaster, & nulla ante hac soli-diore disciplina tiultus, Ecclesiastica traltat; Cum vespillonis, & castrensis Scorti

\* Spuma irreverenter in Regem debacchatur, cujus eximia vita & parentibus Sci-

in divinis humanisq; sapientia oppii. p. 127.

& constans justi tenor cuicunque vel privato venerationem conciliaret; Cùm homo Germanuc exusa patria probitate & modestia nibil aliud per totum opus quam eversionem Regum Regnorumque spirat; Cùm denique idem os quod

Jesuiticam societatem \* Parrici- \* Ibidem p. 132.

dalem Cohortem vocaverat, nunc

post quam

#### A Letter to Marcus Velferus.

\* Ecclefiafticus Scioppli p. 371.

postquam culinas Rome olere capit, eandem Prætoriam \* Castrorum Dei cohortem vocat, Quis iniquæ Tam patiens urbis (que

iftud animal pabulatur ) tam ferreus, ut teneat fe? Agitur, semotă omni festivitate, te serio, te ex animo (Ornatissime Velsere) in hac Epistolă convenio: orans, obsestanfque per commune humanicatis vinculum , per ejusaem Baptismi, ejusaem symboli conscientiamipse velis (pro anthoritate qua te scio valere apud tuos )istos Scioppios compescere; ut vjectis è caen Christiano similibus hominum propudiis, Cunssariumque sanc vel optimarum dehouoftamentis, sun bonis viris existimatio, sua Prin-cipibus dignitas maneat: Non vexentur Nundina prostieuch Paraficorum calamis; Non typi (nobile Germanorum impentum) aded mifere torque antur ; fequatur denig; quantum infirmitas nostra ferat, illa Regnorum Ecclesiarumque requies quam nobis commendavis supremus pacis praceptor fimul & exemplum. Quod si impudemem illam dicaritatem (quam ab infami oren pudaa draabywi eraxis) non deponere poteris sine mugno ventriculi incom-modo; setem dignus est certe cui curtetur esca ob exeerandam ergusiam qua sibi videtur vel ipsis Tridentinis Patribus oculation. Illi \* Tradi-

\* 8. April, Self. 4. tiones & Scripturam Sacram pari tantum pietatis affectu & reve-

rentià suscipiendas, primi omnium (quod ego sciam) decrevere. At iste novue Ecclesiasticus non in Albo Amicorum, sed pulcherrimi syntagmatis sui, p. 485. majorem traditi quam scripti verbi Divini authoritatem blasphemo & pudendo ore promunciat. Possem sexcentas id gemus Scioppietates proferre, sed hoc esser ruspari sterquilinium. Vale igitur (Vir nobilissime) atque iterum Salves Londino Nonis Decembribus sulianis. Anno umici Mediatoris nostri 1612.

TO

## MARCUS VELSERUS,

One of the two

## Governours of AUSBURG.

HENRY WOTTON withing health.

SIR,

is a

I Have written to you heretofore fometimes in private, but have a concern upon me now to do it also in publick, of which (with your permission) I desire thus to inform you.

At the last Frankesure Mare there was set to sale a certain Book of Bulk (which often gives the value) not inconsiderable. And it bore this Inscription:

Julpar Scioppins his Ecclesiafticus: opposed to the Authority of the most Serene Lord King James—wherein as with Arguments for the most part new, and in a way hitherto by no man trac'd——-And so on with the like modesty.

The Composer of this Work, in his begging Scraps all about, I know not by what means, feems to have lighted on a merry definition of an Ambassadour, which above eight years before passing by that way, I had chanced to set down at my Friend's, Mr. Christopher Fleckamore, in his Albam of Friends

#### A Letter to Marcus Velferus.

Friends, after the German custom, (a white Paper-Book used by the Dutch for such kind of Motto's) which was worded thus:

Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missu ad mentiendum Reipub. causâ. In English, being only this Jest; An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lye abroad for the Commonwealth.

A Definition perhaps fo Catholick, that it may comprehend even the Popes Legates; Now what, I pray, think you doth this Scioppins hereupon? Throws open the Cabinet of familiarity, after fo many years, revives an obsolete conceipt, priviledg'd from disturbance even by its Antiquity, and according to his civility adorns me with a most gentle construction, as if I had written it not only in good earnest, but even with oftentation. Nor fatisfi'd with this, he endeavours to draw a blemish from my merriment, upon the untainted reputation of the best of Kings; as if Masters were oblig'd to answer for their Servants triflings. Lastly, To varnish over his perversness, he puts in a passage or two out of Esay and Solomon pleasantly, as nothing is secure from a Prophane wit.

This I confess befel me in a wondrous Age; for, who could have imagin'd so ill humour'd a creature likely to be born, whom such a little fancy upon the Licence of Ambassadors (who act only in Politicks) should so grievously offend; whereas we daily see the severity it self of holy Writ, so souly adulterated by some that are Masters of Equivocations, pious Frauds, and mental Reservations? And this not by the by, nor in jest, or in the Album of Friends, where idle things and truths us'd to be

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#### A Letter to Mareus Vellarus.

fet down with equal fecurity, but on fet purpole, and from the Pulpit, with Privilege and Authoris ty of Superiors? Yea but it is Sciepping that has rose up, and what answer from me doth he expert? I remember indeed that being at Venice, my Family was ftruck with an Anathema in Baranius his Paras nefts; I remember that then also some things of the like fort were cast at me by Gomitulus, a Jefuit of Perugia, and by Anthony Poffevin, which, although they flow'd from galled spirits, yet however I bore in filence, for, thefe were men of no mean repute, at least at home, and, such eminency as they had, qualifi'd the injury. But when a hungry Renegado, a dirty Sharker about the Romiff Court, only fcribbles that he may dine, and a raw Pedant, not at all vers'd in more folid Learning, falls to treating of Church-matters; when the spawn of a Sexton, and an Ammunition Trull

\* rages with that irrevetence \* See what is pubagainst a King, whose eminent knowledge in things di-Parents of Scioppi-

vine and humane, and constant us, pag. 127.

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get a veneration to any private Person; when a German quitting the modesty and honesty of his Countrey, breathes nothing throughout his whole Book but the subversion of Kings and Kingdoms; when, finally, the same mouth which had called the Society of the Jesuits, a company of Particides; and now having begun to smell the Roman Kitchins, stilles them the Pratorian Band of God's Militar Quit iniqual tam patient Orbis; que is and Animal pabulatur, tam ferrom G tenear see Who can endure so taste a City (that seeds the Beast) or is so insensible as to contain himself?

Where -:

#### A Letter to Marcus Velferus.

Wherefore (fetting afide all lightness) I commune with you by this Letter seriously, and from my heart (most accomplished Velserm) defiring and befeeching you by our common bond of Humanity, by our conscience in the same Faith and Baptism, that (according to the power I know you have amidst your people) you would quell these Scioppians, that such scandals of Mankind, and shames even to the best Causes, being banished from Christian Society, good men may retain their esteem, and Princes their Dignity; that your Marts may not be pester'd with the prostituted Pens of Paralites. nor the Press (the brave Invention of the Germans) be so miserably tormented; and lastly, that ( as much as in our weakness lies, ) the happy quiet of Kingdoms and Churches may enfue, which the highest Teacher, and example of peace hath commended to us. But if he cannot leave off that impudent fcurrility (which from his base extraction he has very suitably contracted) without great inconvenience to his Belly, furely he deserves at least to have his Commons shortned, for that execrable subtilty, whereby he feems to himfelf quicker-fighted than the Council of Trem; for they, first of any (that I know of ) decreed, that \* Traditions and holy Scripture were

\* April 8. Sell. 4. with equal frection, only, of Piety and Reverence to be received: But this new Ecclefiastick, not in the Album of Friends, but in the 485th Page of his five Syntagma, pronounces with a blasphermous and shameless mouth, that the Ambority of Tradition is above the written Word of God. 1

could

could produce fix hundred fuch Scioppieties, but that were to rake a Dunghil. Wherefore farewel most Noble Sir, and again farewel.

From London, Decemb. 2. after the Julian Accompt, in the Year of our only Media-

tour - 1613

# TO THE Right Worthy Provost PROFESSOR REGIUS DIVINITY

CAMBRIDGE.

SIR.

Hough my feet cannot perform that Counsel which I remember from some Translation in Syracides, Teras limen fenfaci viri, yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor lines : But on the other fide, while I durft not truft mine own conceit in the power of my prefent infirmity, and therefore have leldom written to any, I find 2725

my felf in the mean time overcharged with divers Letters from you of fingular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty Peaceful Piece, which truly I had not feen before, fo as belides the weight of the Subject, it was welcom even for the grace of Newness: Yet let me tell you, I could not but somewhat wonder to find our spiritual Seneca ( you know whom I mean ) among these Reconcilers, having read a former Treatife of his ( if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion. Howfoever, now let him have his due praise with the rest for shewing his Christian Wisdom and Cherity; But I fear, as it was anciently faid by a Roman General, that Bellum fefe alit; so it will prove, though in somewhat a different sense. likewife as true of this Church-warfare, That the very stafure of Contending will fomens Contention till the end of all Flesh.

But let me leave that Sacred business to our well-

meaning Fathers.

And now, Sir, having a fit Messenger, and not long after the time when Love-tokens use to pass between Friends, let me be bold to send you for a New-years-gift a certain Memorial, not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your roof; namely, a true Picture of Padre Paolo the Servica, which was first taken by a Painter whom I sent unto him from my House then neighbouring his Monastery. I have newly added there unto a Title of mine own Conception, Concisi Tridenimi Eviscover; and had sent the Frame withal, if it were portable, which is but of plain Deal, coloured Black like the Habit of his Order. You have a luminous Parlour, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate

cate Fare and Freedom ( the Prince of Diffes ; ) but above all, by your own Learned Discourse; for to dine with you, is to dine with many good Authors: In that Room I befeech you to allow it a fasourable place for my fake. And that you may have fomewhat to tell of him more than a bare Image, if any shall ask, as in the Table of Cebes, Taris to 76 & ayahua; I am desirous to characterize a little unto you fuch part of his Nature, Cuftoms, and Abilities as I had occasion to know by fight or by enquiry. He was one of the humbleft things that could be feen within the bounds of Humanity; the very Pattern of that Precept, Quanto doction Tanto Submission. And enough alone to demonstrate, That Knowledge well-digested non inflar, Excellent in Politive, excellent in Scholaflical and Polemical Divinity. A rare Mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theoriques; and yet withat fo expert in the History of Plants, as if he had never perused any Book but Nature. Laftly, a great Canonist, which was the title of his ordinary fervice with the State: And certainly in the time of the Pope's Interdict, they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to fit fenced with a Caftle of Paper about his Chair, and over head : for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's opimion, That all Air is predatory; and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed. You will find a Scar in his Face, that was from a Roman Affatimate, that would have killed him as he was curned to a wall hear to his Covent : And if there were not a greater Providence about us, it might often have been easily done, especially upon

spon fich a weak and wearyish Body. He was of a quiet and lettled Temper, which made him prompt in his Counsels and Answers; and the same in Confultation which Themistocles was in Action, A'ile pallage between him and the Prince of Conde. The faid Prince in a voluntary journey to Rome came by Venice, where to give some vent to his own humours, he would often devest himself of his Greatness, and after other less laudable Curiosties, not long before his departure, a defire took him to vifit the Famous obscure Servica: To whose Cloyfter coming twice, he was the first time denied to be within; at the fecond it was intimated. that by reason of his daily admission to their deliberation in the Palace, he could not receive the Visit of so Illustrious a Personage without leave from the Senate, which he would feek to procure. This fet a greater edge on the Prince, when he faw he should confer with one participant of more than Monkish Speculations; so after leave gotten, he came the third time; and then belides other voluntary Discourse (which it were a Tyranny over you to repeat) he affail'd him with a Question enough to have troubled any man but himfelf, and him too, if a precedent Accident had not cased him : The Question was Jupped this; He defired to be told by him before his going. Who was the true unmasked Author of the late Tridentine Hiftory ?

You must know this, that but newly Advertisement was come from Rome, that the Arch-bishop of Spalaro being then re-arrived from England, in an interview between him and the Cardinal Ladovisio, Nephew to Gregory the XV. the said Cardi-

nal

nal after a complemental welcoming him into the Lap of the Church, told him by order from the Pope, that his Holiness wouldst expect from him fome Recantation in Print, as an Antidote against certain Books and Pamphlets which he had published whilst he stood in Revolt. Namely, his first Manifesto; Item, Two

Memorandum, That this Recantation was to my knowledg never Printed at Rome, or effective to his death, for otherwise upon further consideration, that things extorted with fear carry no credit, even by the Prætor's Edict.

Sermons preached at the Italian Church in London: Again, a little Tract, entituled his Scooli. And lastly, his greater Volumes about Church Regiment, and Controversies. These were all named. For as touching the Tridentine History, His Holiness (says the Cardinal)

will not press you to any dif- Quod merus cansa. Avowment thereof, though you

have an Epiftle before the Original Edition, because we know well enough that Frier Paolo is the Father of that Brat. Upon this last Piece of the aforesaid Advertisement, the good Father came fairly off; for on a sudden laying all together, that to disavow the Work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing an incivility; he took a middle evasion, telling the Prince, That he understood he was going to Rome, where he might learn at ease who was the Author of that Book, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence.

Thus without any mercy of your Time, I have been led along from one thing to another, while

#### ALECCER, &c.

I have taken pleasure to remember that Man whom God appointed and surnished for a proper Instrument to Anatomize that Pack of Reverend Cheaters, among whom (I speak of the greater part, excepts, smioribus) Religion was shuffled like a pair of Cards, and the Dice so many years were set upon us. And so wishing you very heartily many igood years, I will let you breathe till you have opened the inclosed, remaining

the terror the Artic true can antenint

wherehe dispositions in the wealth had one of that Book as they were addy into his a conficu

The without any meren of your I have been a commented that

Tour poor Friend to Serve you,

From the Arms of your good Nurse, who ted you with her best Milk, Jan. 19.18637.

HENRY WOTTON.

# THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE,

Collected by

HEHRY WOTTON Kt,

From

Best AUTHORS
AND
EXAMPLES.

# THE OF SECTION OF

Collected by

HERRY WOTTONKE

Promete

BOR AUTHORS

ELSAMPLES

#### THE

# PREFACE

Shall not need (like the most part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject which I deliver; in that point I am at ease. For Architecture can want no commendation, where there are Noble Mea, or Noble Minds, I will therefore spend this Preface, rather about those from whom I have gathered my knowledge: For I am but a gatherer and disposer of other Mens shuff at my best value.

Our principal Master is Vitruvius, and so I shall often call him; who had this felicity, that he wrote when the Roman Empire was near the pitch: Or at least, when Augustus (who favoured his endeavours) had some meaning (if he were not mistaken)

to bound the Monarchie : This, I Tacir. lib. 1. Annal.

fay, was his good hap; For in growing and enlarging times, Arts are commonly drowned in Action: But on the other fide, it was in truth an unhappiness, to express himself so ill, especially writing (as he did) in a season of the ablest Pens; And his obscurity had this strange fortune. That though he were best practifed, and best followed by his own Country-men; yet after the receiving and reposishing of good Literature (which the combustions and tumults of the middle-age had uncivilized) he was hest, or at least, first understood by Strangers: For of all the Italians that took him in hand, those that were Grammariaus seem to have wanted Mathematical knowledge; and the Mathematicians perhapi

wanted Grammar : till both were sufficiently conjoyned, in Leon-Batista Alberti che Florentine, whom I repute the first learned Architect beyond the Alps: But he ftmdied more indeed to make himself an Author than to illu-Strate his Master : Therefore amongst his Commenters I must (for my private conceit) yield the chief praise unto the French, in Philander; and to the high Germans in Gualterius Rivius : who, besides his Notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate Translation, that I think is extant in any Vulgar Speech of the World: though not without bewailing, now and then, some defect of Artificial terms in his own; as I must likewise: For if the Saxon (our Mother-tongue) did complain; as justly, I doubt, in this point may the Daughter : Languages, for the most part, in terms of Art and Erudition, retaining their Original poverty, and rather growing rich and abundant in complemental Phrases and such froth. Touching divers Modern men that have written out of meer practice, I shall give them their due upon occasion.

And now after this short Censure of others, I would fain satisfie an Objection or two, which seem to tye somewhat heavily upon my self: It will be said, That I handle an Art, no way suitable either to my imployments, or to my Fortune. And so I shall stand charged, both with

Intrusion, and with Impertinency.

To the first I Answer, That though by the ever acknowledged goodness of my most dear and gracious Soveraign, and by his long indulgent tolerations of my defects, I have born abroad some part of his civil service; yet when I came home, and was again resolved into mine own simplicity, I found it fitter for my Pen (at least in this first publick adventure) to deal with these plain Compilements, and trastable Materials, than with the Laby in the and Mysteries of Courts and States: And less presumption for me, who have long contemplated a famous Republick,

lick, to write now of Architecture, than it was anciently for \* Hippodamus the Melesian, to write of Republicks, who was himself but an Architect.

\* Arist. 2. 1. Polit. c. 6.

To the Second, I must shrink up my shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confess, indeed, that my Fortune is very unable to exemplifie and actuate my Speculations in this Art, which yet in truth, made me the rather, even from my very disability, take encouragement to hope, that my present Labour would find the more favour in others, since it was undertaken for no mans fake less than mine OWD. And with that confidence I fell into these thoughts; of which there were two wayes to be delivered: The one Historical, by description of the principal Works, performed already in good part by Goirgio Vaffari in the Lives of Architects. The other Logical, by casting the Rules and Cautions of this Art into some comportable Method, whereof I have made choice, not only as the shortest and most Elemental, but indeed as the foundest. For though in practical Knowledges, every compleat Example may bear the credit of a Rule ; yet peradventure Rules should precede, that we may by them be made fit to judge of Examples: Therefore to the Purpose; for I will Preface no longer.

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# ELEMENTS

OF

## ARCHITECTURE.

### The First Part.

N Architecture, as in all other Operative Arts, the End must direct the Operation.

The End is to build well.

Well building hath three Conditions, Com-

modity, Firmnefs, and Delight.

A common Division among the Deliverers of this Art, though I know not how, somewhat misplaced by Vitruvius himself, lib. 1. cap. 3. whom I shall be willinger to follow as a Master of Proportion than of Method.

Now, For the attaining of these Intentions, we may consider the whole Subject under two general Heads.

The

The Seat, and the Work ad very miss among

Therefore first touching Situation

The Pricepts thereunto belonging, do either concern the Total Posture (as I may term it) or the Placing of the Parts; whereof the first fort, howsoever usually set down by Architects as a piece of their Prosession, yet are in truth borrowed from other Learnings: there being between Arts and Sciences, as well as between Men, a kind of good sellowship, and communication of their Principles.

For you shall find some of them to be meetly Physical, touching the quality and temper of the Air: which being a perpetual ambient and ingredient, and the defects thereof incorrigible in single Habitations (which I most intend) doth in those respects require the more exquisite caution: That it be not too gross, nor too generative; not subject to any foggy noisomnels, from Ferms or Marshes near adjoyning; nor to Mineral Exhausions, from the Soil it self. Not indigested, for want of San: Not unexercised, for want of Wind: which were to live, as it were, in a Lake, or standing Pool of Air, as Alberti the Florentine Architect doth ingeniously compare it.

Some do rather seem a little Astrological, as when they warn us from places of malign Influence, where Earthquakes, Comagions, Prodigious Births, or the like, are frequent without any evident cause, whereof the Consideration is peradventure not altogether vain: some are plainly Occaromical, as that the Sear be well watered, and well faelled; that it has the too fee and incommodious Access to the trouble both of Friends and Family, that it lie not too far from some Navigable River, or Arm of the Sear for more case of Provision, and such other Dentific notes.

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Some again may be faid to be Optical ? fuch I mean as concern the Properties of a well chosen Profeet, which I will call the Royalty of Sight. For as there is a Lordship, as it were, of the Fee, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the Line of his own Poffessions : fo there is a Lordflip likewise of the Eye, which being a Ranging, and Imperious, and (I might fay) an Usurping Sense, can indure no narrow Circumfeription; but must be fed both with extent and variety. Yet on the other fide. I find vast and indefinite views which drown all apprehensions of the uttermost Objects, condemned by good Authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure, whereof we speak, did perish. Lastly, I remember a private Caution; which I know not well how to fort, unless I should call it Political : By no means, to build too near a great Neighbour, which were, in truth, to be as unfortunately feated on the Earth, as Mercury is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in combustion or obscurity under brighter beams than his own.

"From these several Knowledges, as I have said, and perhaps from some other, do Architects derive their Doctrine about Election of Seass: wherein I have

\* Joannes Heurnius Instit. Medicin. lib.7. cup. 2\* not been fo severe as a \* great Scholar of our time, who precisely restraineth a persect Situation at least for the main point of

health, Ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit cum sub Arieté orieur. That is, in a word, he would have the first Salaration of the Spring. But such News as these, wheresoever we find them in grave or slight Anthors, are to my conceit rather Wishes than Precess, and in that quality I will pass them over. Yet I wull withal say, That in the Seating of our selves (which

(which is a kind of Marriage to a Place.) Builders should be as circumspect as Wooers, least when all is done, that Doom befal us which our Master doth lay upon Mytelene : A Town, in truth, (faith he) finely built, but foolifhly planted. And fo much touching that which I termed the Total Place.

Opidum quidem adificatum eleganter, sed imprudenter positum.

The next in Order is the placing of the Parts; About which (to leave as little as I may in my prefent labour unto Fancie, which is wild and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine own Collection, upon which I fell in this manner. I had noted that all Art was then in truest perfection, when it might be reduced to fome natural Principle. For what are the most judicious Artizans, but the Mimiques of Nature? this led me to contemplate the Fabrick of our own bodies, wherein the High Architest of the World had displayed such skill, as did flupify all humane Reason. There I found the Heart as the Fountain of Life, placed about the Middle, for the more equal communication of the vital spirits. The Eyes feated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their view. The Arms projected on each fide, for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to lose our selves in this speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a Maxime drawn from the Divine Light, That the Place of every part is to be determined by the Use.

So then from Natural Structure; to proceed to Artificial; and in the rudest things, to preserve some Image of the excellentest; Let all the principal Chambers of Delight, all Studies and Libraries, be toward the East: for the Morning is a Friend to the Muses. All Offices that require heat, as Kitchins,

Stillatories.

Scillatories, Stoves, rooms for Baking, Brewing, Washon or the like, would be Meridional. All that need a cool and fresh temper, as Cellars, Panerys, Butteries, Granaries, to the North. To the fame fide likewife all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as Galleries, especially in warm Climes, or that otherwife require a steady and unvariable light, as Pinacorhecia (faith Virravius) by which he intendeth (if I might guels at his Greek, as we must do often even at his Latin) certain Repositories for Works of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the Italians called Studioli; which at any other Quarter, where the course of the Sun doth divertifie the Shadows, would lofe much of their grace. And by this Rule, having alwayes regard to the U/e, any other part may be fitly accommodated.

I must here not omit to note, That the Ancient Grecians, and the Romans by their example, in their Buildings abroad, where the Sear was free, did almost Religiously situate the From of their Houses towards the South: perhaps that the Masters Eye, when he came home might not be dazled, or that being illustrated by the Sun, it might yield the more graceful Aspect, or some such reason. But from this the Modern Italians do vary, whereof I shall speak more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the Polition of the several Members, wherein must be had, as our Author doth often infinuate, and especially lib. 6. cap. 10. a fingular regard to the nature of the Region : Every Nation being tyed above all Rules what foeer, to a difcretion of providing against their own Inconveniencies: And therefore a good Parlour in Agypt, would perchance make a good Callar in England.

There now followeth the fecond Branch of the

general Section touching the Work.

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In the Work, I will first consider the principal parts, and afterwards the Accessory or Ornaments; And in the Principal, first the preparation of the Materials; and then the Disposition, which is the Form.

Now, concerning the Material part; Although furely it cannot difgrace an Architett, which doth fo well become a Philosopher, to look into the Properties of Stone or Wood : as that Firr Trees, Cypreffes, Cedars, and fuch other Aereal aspiring Planes, being by a kind of natural rigour (which in a Man I would call Pride ) inflexible downwards, are thereby fittest for Posts or Pillars, or such upright use : that on the other side, Oak, and the like true hearty Timber, being ftrong in 'all Politions, may be better trufted in cross and traverse Work; for Summers, or girding, or binding Beams, as they term them. And fo likewise to observe of Scone, that some are better within, and other to bear Weather: Nay, to descend lower, even to examine Sand, and Lime and Clay (of all which things Vi-truvius hath discoursed, without any daintiness; and the most of new Writers) I say, though the Speculative part of fuch Knowledge be liberal: yet to redeem this profession, and my present pains from indignity; I must here remember, That to choose and fort the Materials for every part of the Fabrick, is a Duty more proper to a fecond Superintendent over all the Under-Artizans, called (as I take it) by our Author, Officinator, lib. 6. cap. 11. and in that place exprelly diftinguished from the Architett, whose glory doth more consist in the Defignment, and Idea of the whole Work; and his truest

truest ambition should be to make the Form, which is the nobler Part, as it were, triumph over the Marter: whereof I cannot but mention by the way, a Foreign Pattern; namely, the Church of Sanda Ginstana in Padoua: In truth, a sound piece of good Art, where the Materials being but ordinary Stone, without any garnishment, of Sculpture, do yet ravish the beholder (and he knows not how) by a secret Harmony in the Proportions. And this indeed is that end, at which in some degree we should aim even in the privatest works: whereanto though I make hast, yet let me first collect a sew of the least trivial cautions, belonging to the Material Provisions.

Leon-Batista Alberti is so curious, as to wish all the Timber cut out of the same Forest, and all the

Stone out of the same Quarry.

Philibert del Orme the French Architect, goes yet Comewhat further, and would have the Lime made of the very fame Stone, which we intend to imploy in the Work; as, belike, imagining, that they will sympathize and joyn the better by a kind of Original kindred. But fuch conceits as thefe, feem fomewhat too fine among this Rubbage, though I do not produce them in fport. For furely, the like agreements of Nature may have oftentimes a discreet application to Art. Always it must be confessed, that to make Lime without any great choice, of refuse stuff, as we commonly do, is an English Error of no small moment in our Buildings. Whereas the Italians at this day, and much more the Ancients, did burn their firmest Stone, and even fragments of Marble where it was copious, which in time became almost Marble again, or at least of indisfoluble durity, as appeareth in the standing Theaters.

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I must here not omit, while I am speaking of this part, a certain form of Brick described by D. Barbare. Patriarch of Aquileia, in the largest Edition of his Commentary upon Vituvius. The Figure Triangular. every fide a foot long, and fome inch and a thick which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions: As that they are more commodious in the management, of less expence, of fairer show, adding much beauty and strength to the Miral Angles, where they fall gracefully into an indented Work: fo as I should wonder that we have not taken them into use, being propounded by a man of good authority in this knowledge; but that all Nations do flart at Novelties, and are indeed marryed to their own Moulds. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which fome have well moved; whether the ancient Italians did burn their Brick or no? which a passage or two in Vitravias hath left Ambiguous. Surely, where the Natural heat is strong enough to supply the Artificial, it were but a curious folly to multiply both Labour and Expence. And it is besides, very probable, that those Materials with a kindly and temperate heat would prove fairer, smoother, and less distorted, than with a violent: only they fuffer two exceptions. First, that by fuch a gentle drying much time will be loft, which might otherwise be employed in compiling. Next, that they will want a certain fucking and foaking Thirstines, or a fiery appetite to drink in the Lime, which must kait the Fabrick. But this question may be confined to the South, where there is more Sun and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course, with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the Materials, with a principal caution: That sufficient Stuff

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Stuff and Money be ever ready before we begin: For when we build now a piece and then another by fits, the Work dries and finks unequally, whereby the Walls grow full of Chinks and Crevices; therefore fuch pawfings are well reproved by Palladio, lib. 1. cap. 1. and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances, touching the preparation of the Matter, I may now proceed to the Disposition thereof, which must form the Work; In the Form, as I did in the Seat, I will first consider the general Figuration, and then the several Members.

Figures are either simple or mixed. The simple be hither Circular or Angular. And of Circular either Complete or Deficient, as Ovals; with which kinds I will be contented, though the Distribution might

be more curious.

Now the exact Circle is in truth a Figure, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitness for Commodity and Receipt, being the most capable, fitness for strength and duration; being the most united in his parts; fitness for beauty and delight, as imitating the Celestial Orbs, and the universal Form. And it seems besides, to have the approbation of Nature, when the worketh by Instinct, which is her secret School: For Birds do build their Nefts Spherically : But notwithstanding these Attributes, it is in truth a very unpresitable Figure in private Fabricks, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much room lost in the bending of the Walls, when it comes to be divided, besides an ill distribution of light, except from the Center of the Roof. So as anciently it was not usual, fave in their Temples and Amphi-Theaters, which needed no Compartitions. The Ovals and other imperfect fecular

fecular Forms, have the same exceptions, and less benefit of capacity: So as there remains to be considered in this general survey of Figures, the Angular, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true Observation, That this An doth neither love many Angles nor sew. For first, the Triangle, which bath the sewest sides and corners, is of all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirm (whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendred) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular Form than it self in the inward Partitions.

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As for Figures of five, fix, feven, or more Angles: They are furely fitter for Military Architecture (where the Bulwarks may be laid out at the Corners, and the fides ferve for Curtains) than for civil use; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at Capralora, belonging to the House of Farnese, cast by Baroccio into the form of a Pentagone, with a Circle inscribed, where the Architect did ingeniously wrestle with divers inconveniencies in disposing of the Lights, and in saving the vacuities. But as Designs of such nature, do more aim at Rarky than Commodity; so, for my part, I had rather admire them than commend them.

These things considered, we are both by the Precepts, and by the Practice of the best Builders; to resolve upon Restangular Squares, as a mean between too sew and roo many Angles; and through the equal inclination of the sides ( which make the right Angle) stronger than the Rhombe or Losenge, or any other irregular Square. But whether the exact Quadrat, or the long Square be the better, I find not well determined, though in mine own conceit,

I must prefer the latter; provided that the Length do not exceed the Latitude above one third part, which would diminish the beauty of the Aspect, as shall appear when I come to speak of Symmetry and

Proportion.

Of mixed Figures, parely Circular, and parely Angular, I shall need to say nothing; because having handled the simple already, the mixed according to their composition; do participate of the same respects. Only against these there is a proper Objection, that they offend Uniformity: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as far as shall concern the outward Aspect, which is now in Discourse.

In Architecture, there may feem to be two oppofite affectations, Uniformity and Variety, which yet will very well fuffer a good reconcilement, as we may fee in the great Pattern of Nature, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no Structure more Uniform than in our Bodies in the whole Figuration : each fide agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the Parts: and yet some are round, as the Arms, some flat, as the Hands ; some prominent ; and some more retired: so as upon the matter we fee that Diversity doth not destroy Uniformity, and that the Limbs of a noble Fabrick may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole Work. We ought likewise to avoid Enormous heights of fix or feven Stories, as well as trregular Forms; and the contrary fault of low distended Froms, is as unseemly: Or again, when the

appea-

the Face of the Building is narrow, and the Flank deep: To all which extreams some particular Nations or Towns are subject, whole Names may be civilly spared: And so much for the general Figuration, or Aspett of the Work.

Now concerning the Parts in Severalty, All the parts of every Fabrick may be comprized under five Heads, which Division I receive from Basista Alberri,

to do him right. And they be thefe;

The Foundation.

The Walls.

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The Appertions, or Overtures:

The Compartition.

And the Cover.

About all which I purpose to gather the principal Cautions, and as I pass along, I will touch also the hatural Reasons of Are; that my Discourse may be the less Mechanical.

First then concerning the Foundation, which requireth the exacteft care; For if that happen to dance, it will mar all the mirth in the House; Therefore that we may found our Habitation firmly, we must first examine the Bed of Earth (as I may term it, ) upon which we will Build; and then the underfillings, or substruction, as the Ancients did call it : For the former, we have a general Precept in Vierwoins, twice precifely repeated by him, as a Point indeed of main consequence; first, L. 1. c. 5. And again more fitly, 1. 3. c. 3. in these words, as Philander doth well correct the vulgar Copies: Substructionis Fundationes fodiantur (faith he) si queant inventri ad solidum, & in solido. By which words I conceive him to commend unto us, not only a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the Soil will bear : advising us, not to rest upon any

appearing folidity, unless the whole Mould, through which we cut, hath likewife been folid; but how deep we florde go in this fearch, he hath no where to my remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon Discretion, than Regularity, according to the weight of the Work; yet Andrew Palla-die bath fairly adventured to reduce it into Rule; Allowing for that Cavazione ( as he calleth it ) a

Under-dieging, or Hol-Earth.

fixth part of the height of the whole Fabrick, unless the Cellars be under lowing of the ground, in which case he would have us ( as it should feem ) to found somewhat lower.

Some Italians do prescribe, that when they have chosen the Floor, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the Work, we should first of all Dig Wells and Cifferms, and other Under-conducts and Conveyances for the Suillage of the House, whence may arise a double benefit: for both the nature of the mondior Soil, would thereby be fafely fourthet, and more: over those open vents will ferve to discharge fuch Papours, as, having otherwise no issue, might peradventure shake the Building. This is enough for the natural Grounding; which though it be not a Pert of the folid Fabrick, yet here was the fitteft place to handle it.

There followeth the Subarution, or Groundwork of the whole Edifice, which must fulfain the Wall; and this is a kind of Arificial Foundation as the other was Natural! About which thefe are the chief Remembrances: First, that the bottom be precifely level, where the Isalians therefore commonly lay a Platform of good Board; Then that the lowest Ledge or Row be meerly of Stone, and the broader the better, closely Jaid, without Mortar, which

lo.

which is a general Caution for all parts in building, that are contiguous to Board or Timber; because Lime and Wood are insociable; and if any where unfit Confiners, then most especially in the Foundation. Thirdly, that the breadth of the Subfruttion be at least double to the insiftent Wall, and more or less, as the weight of the Fabrick hall require; for, as I must again repeat, Discretion may be freer than Art. Lattly, I find in some a curious precept, that the Materials below, be laid as they grew in the Quarry, supposing them belike to have most strength in their Natural and Habitual Posture. For as Philippe de l'Orme observeth, the breaking or yielding of a frone in this part, but the breadth of the back of a knife, will make a Cleft of more than half a foot in the Fabrick aloft : So important are fundamental Errors. Among which notes I have faid nothing of Pallification, or Pyling of the Ground-plor, commanded by Virravim, when we build upon a moist or marshy Soil, because that were an error in the first choice. And therefore all Seats that must use such provision below ( as Venice for an eminent example ) would perhaps upon good erquiry, he found to have been at first chosen by the Counfel of Necessity.

Now the Foundation being featched, and the Substruction laid, we must next speak of the Walls.

Walls are either entire and continual, or intermitted; and the Intermissions be either Pillars or Pylasters; for here I had rather handle them; then, as some others do, among Ornaments.

The entire Maring is by Writers diverily distinguished: By some, according to the quality of the Materials, as either Stone of Brick, &c. Where, by the way, let me note, that to build Walls and

greater works of Flim, whereof we want not example in our Illand, and particularly in the Province of Kent, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the Ancients, who observing in that Material, a kind of Metalical Nature, or at least a Fufibility, feem to have resolved it into nobler use; an Art now utterly loft, or perchance kept up by a few Chymicks. Some again do not fo much confider the quality, as the Position of the said Materials : As when Brick or squared Stones are laid in their lengths with fides and heads together, or their Points conjoyned like a Ner-work (for fo Viernvins doth call it reticulatum opus) of familiar use (as it should feem) in his Age, though afterwards grown out of request, even perhaps for that subtil speculation which he himself toucheth; because so laid, they are more apt in fwagging down, to pierce with their Points; than in the jacent Posture, and fo to crevice the Wall: But to leave fuch cares to the meaner Artificers, the more effential are thefe :

That the Walls be most exactly perpendicular to the Ground-work, for the right Angle (thereon depending) is the true cause of all stability, both in Artificial and Natural Positions: A man likewise standing sirmest, when he stands uprightest. That the Massiest and heaviest Masterials be the lowest, as sitter to bear, than to be born. That the Work, as it riseth, diminish in thickness proportionally, for ease both of weight, and of expence. That certain Courses or Ledges of more strength than the rest, be interlayed like Bones, to sustain the Fabrick from total ruine, if the under parts should decay. Lastly, that the Angles be simply bound, which are the Nerves of the whole Edisice, and therefore are commonly

monly fortified by the Italians, even in their Brick buildings, on each fide of the corners, with well squared Stone, yielding both strength and grace. And so much touching the entire or solid Wall.

The Intermissions (as hath been said) are either

by Pillars, or Pylasters.

Pillars, which we may likewife call Columnes, (for the word among Artificers is almost naturalized.) I could distinguish into Simple and Compounded But (to tread the beaten and plainest way) there are five Orders of Pillars, according to their dignity and perfection, thus Marshalled:

The Tuscan.
The Dorique.
The Ionique.

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The Corinthian.

And the Compound Order, or as some call it, the Roman, others more generally the Isalian.

In which five Orders; I will first confider their

Communicies, and then their Proprieties.

Their Communicies (as far as I observe) are Principally three. First, they are all Round; for though some conceive Columna Acticurges, mentioned by Vitruvim, lib. 3. cap. 3. to have been a squared Pillar, yet we must pass it over as irregular, never received among these Orders, no more than certain other licentious inventions, of Wregthed and Vined, and Figured Columnes, which our Author himself condemneth, being in his whole Book a professed

Secondly, they are all Diminished or Contrasted infensibly, more or less, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole Shaft upwards, which Philander doth prescribe by his own precise measuring of the Ancient

remainders, as the most graceful · Diminution. And here I must take leave to blame a practice grown (I know not how) in certain places too familiar, of making Pillars swell in the middle, as if they were fick of some Tympany, or Dropsie, without any Authentique Pattern or Rule, to my knowledge, and unseemly to the very judgment of fight. True it is, That in Viernvins, lib. 3. cap. 2. we find these words. De adjectione que adjicitur in mediis Columnis. que apud Grecos Eslas appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus; which pallage feemeth to have given lome countenance to this errour. But of the promife there made, as of divers other elfewhere, our Master hath failed us, either by slip of memory, or injury of time, and so we are left in the dark. Always fure I am, that, belides the authority of example which it wanteth, it is likewise contrary to the Original and Natural Type in Trees, which at first was imitated in Pillars, as Vitruvius himself observeth, lib. 5. cap. 1. For who ever faw any Cyprefs, or Pine (which are there alledged) finall below and above, and tumerous in the middle; unless it were some diseased Plant, as Nature (though otherwise the comlieft Miffress) hath now and then her deformities and Irregularytres ?

Thirdly they have all their Under-ferrings, or Pedestals, in height a third part of the whole Columns, comprehending the Base and Capital; and their upper Adjuncts, as Architrave, Fritz, and Cornice, a fourth part of the said Pillar; which rule, of singular nie and facility, I find seried by Jacobo Baroccio; and hold him a more credible Authorias a man that most intended this piece, than any that vary from him in those Dimensions.

Thefe are their most considerable Communicies and drinkers . San fivio otal hovisate

agreements.

Their Proprieties or Difficultions will helt appear by fome reasonable description of therealtogether. with their Archiraves, Frizes, and Cornices, as they

are usually handled.

First therefore, the Tustan is a plain, massie, roral Pillar , refembling fome flurdy well-limb'd Labourer, homely clad, in which kind of comparifons Vuruvius himfelf feemeth to take pleafore, lib. 4. cap. 1. The length thereof shall be fix Diameters, of the groffest of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most natural; For our Author tells us, lib. 3. esp. 1. that the foot of a man is the fixth part of his body in ordinary measure, and Man himself according to the saying of Proragoras (which Aristotle doth somewhere woochsafe to celebrate ) is to of antifar xenuatran unter, as it were, the Prototype of all exact Symmetrie which we have had other occasions to touch before : This Columne I have by good warrant called Rural, Kurney. cap. 2. lib. 3. And therefore we need not confider his rank among the reft. The distance or Intercolumniation (which word Artificers donfazily borrow) may be near four of his own Diameters, because the Majerials commonly laid over this Pillar, were rather of wood than flone; through the lightness whereof the Archierave could not fuffer shough thinly Supported, nor the Columne it felf, being to Substantial. The Contraction about half he faccording to the most received practice) one fourth part of his thicknels below. To conclude, (for lintend only as much as shall forve for a due Diffinguishment, and not to delineare every petty member) the Tufam is of all the rudest Pillar, and his Principal Character Smdicity.

The Dorigue Order is the gravest that hath been received into civil use, preserving, in comparison of those that follow, a more Masculine Aspect, and Little trimmer than the Tafean that went before, fave a fober garnishment now and then of Lions heads in the Cornice, and of Tryglyphs and Metopes always in the Frize. Sometimes likewife, but farely channeled, and a little flight Sculpture about the Hypotrachelion or Neck, under the Capital. The length, feven Diameters. His rank or degree, is the lowest by all Congruity, as being more massie than the other three, and consequently abler to support. The Intercolumniation, thrice as much as his thickness below. The Contraction aloft, one fifth of the fame measure. To discern him, will be a piece rather of good Heraldry, than of Architecture: For he is best known by his place when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his Frize ( before mentioned) when he is alone.

The Ionique Order doth represent a kind of Feminine slenderness, yet saith Viernvius, not like a light House-wise, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the Matron. The length eight Diameters. In degree as in substantialness, next above the Dorique, sustaining the third, and adorning the second Story. The Intersolumniation two of his own Diameters. The Contrastion one sixth part. Best known by his trimmings, for the body of this Columne is perpetually channelled, like a thick pleighted Gown. The Capital dressed on each side, not much unlike Womens Wires, in a spiral wreathing, which they call the Ionian Voluta. The Cormice indented. The Frizativelling like a pillow: And therefore by Viernvius, not unelegantly termed Palviness. These are his

bell Gharatters.

The Corinchian, is a Columne, lasciviously decked like a Curtezan, and therein much participating (as all inventions do) of the place where they were first born : Corimb having been (without controversie) one of the wantonest Towns in the world. This Order is of nine Diameters. His degree, one Stage above the Ionique, and always the highest of the simple Orders. The Intercolumniation two of his Diameters, and a fourth part more. which is of all other the comlieft distance. The Contraction one feventh part. In the Cornice both Dentelli and Modiglioni. The Frize, Our Arrizans adorned with all kinds of Figures tall them Teeth and and various Compartments at Plea-Carionzes, fure. The Capitals, cut into the beautifullest leaf, that Nature doth yield; which Cartouzes. furely; next the Aconitum Pardalianches Trejected perchance as an ominous Plant) is the Acanthus, or Brancha Urfina; though Vuruvim doth impute the choice thereof unto Chance, and we must be contented to believe him: In short, as Plainness did Charactarize the Tufcan, fo must Delicacy and Variernthe Corinibian Pillar; besides the height of his Rank.

The last is the Compounded Order: His name being a brief of his nature. For this Pillar is nothing in effect, but a medly, or an amasse of all the precedent Ornaments, making a new kind, by stealth; and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beauty. His length (that he may have somewhat of his own) shall be of ten Diameters. His degree should, no doubt, be the highest, by reasons before yielded. But sew Palaces, Ancient or Modern, exceed the third of the Civil Orders. The

Intercolumniation but a Diameter and an half, or always lomewhat less than two, The Contraction of this Pillar must be one eighth Part less above than below. To know him will be easie by the very mixture of his Ornaments, and Clothing.

And so much touching the five Orders of Columnes, which I will conclude with two or three

not impertinent Cautions :

First, that where more of these Orders than one, shall be set in several stories or Contignations, there must be an exquisite care to place the Columns precisely one over another, that so the solid may answer to the solid, and the vacuities to the vacuities, as well for Beaucy as strength of the Fabrick: And by this Caution the Consequence is plain, that when we speak of the Intercolumniation or Distance which is due to each Order, we mean in a Dorique, sonical, Corinthian Porch, or Cloister, or the like of one Contignation, and not in Storied bu Idings.

Secondly, Let the Columnes above be a fourth part less than those below, faith Viernvius, lib. s. cap. t. A strange Precept in my opinion; and fo frange, that peradventure it were more fuitable, even to his own Principles, to make them rather a fourth part greater. For lib. 3. cap. 2. where our Malter handleth the Goneractions of Pillars, we have an Oprique Rule, that the higher they are, the less should be always their diminution aloft, because the Eye it felf doth naturally contract all Objetts more or less, according to the Distance; which Consideration may, at first light, seem to have been forgotten in the Caution we have now given; but Vurueum (the best Interpreter of himself) hath in the same place of his fifth Book well acquitted his Memory by these words: Columna Superiores quarea parte.

parte minores , quam inferiores , funt constituenda ; propeerea quod, operi ferendo qua sun inferiora, firmiora effe debent ; preferring like a wife Mechanick, the natural Reason before the Maihematical, and lensible conceits before abstracted. And yet lib. 4. cap, 4. he feemeth again to affect Subsility, allowing Pillars the more they are channeled to be the more flender; because while our Eye (saith he) doth as it were distinctly measure the eniment and the hollowed parts, the Total Object appeareth the bigger, and fo as much as those excavations do fubtract, is supplied by a Fallacy of the Sight: But here me thinks, our Master should likewise have rather confidered the natural inconvenience; for though Pillars by channeling, be befeemingly ingroffed to our Sight, yet they are truly weakned in themselves; and therefore ought perchance in found reason not to be the more slender, but the more corpulent, unless apparences preponder truths ; but Contra Manifrum non eft disputandum.

A Third Caution shall be, that all the projected or justing parts (as they are termed) be very moderate especially, the Cornices of the lower Orders, for whilest some think to give them a beautiful and royal Aspect by their largeness, they sometimes hinder both the Light within, (where-of I shall speak more in due place) and likewise detract much from the view of the From without, as well appeareth in one of the principal Fabricks at Venice, namely, the Palace of the Duke Grimani on the Canal Grande, which by this magnificent errour, is somewhat disgraced: I need now say no more concerning Columnes and their Adjuncts, about which Architects make such a noise in their Books,

as if the very terms of Architraves, and Frizes, and Cornices, and the like, were enough to graduate a Mafter of this Art; yet let me before I pass to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance be faid, that all this Doctrine touching the five Orders, were fitter for the Quarries of Afia, which yielded 127 Columnes of 600 Foor high to the Ephesian Temple; or for Numidia, where Marbles abound, than for the Spirits of England, who must be contented with more ignoble Materials: To which I answer, That this need not difcourage us : For I have often at Venice, viewed with much pleasure, an Airium Gracum (we may tranflate it an Antiporch, after the Greek manner ) raised by Andrea Palladio, upon eight Columnes of the compounded Order: The Bases of Stone, without Pedestals: The Shafes or Bodies of meer Brick. three Foot and an half thick in the Diameter below, and confequently thirty five Foot high, as himfelf hath described them in his second Book : Than which, mine Eye hath never yet beheld any Columnes more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks having first been formed in a circular Mould, and then cut before their burning into four Quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyn so closely, and the points concenter fo exactly that the Pillar! appear one emire Piece; which short description I could not omit, that thereby may appear, how in truth we want rather Are than Stuff, to fatisfie our greatest Fancies.

After Pillars, the next in my distribution are Pylasters, mentioned by Virravina, lib. 5. cap. 1. and sount any where else under the name of Parastates, as Philander conceiveth, which Grammarical Point (though perchance not very clear) I am content-

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ed to examine no further. Always, what we mean by the thing it felf is plain enough in our own vulgar; Touching which, I will briefly collect the most

considerable Notes.

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Pylasters must not be too tall and slender, lest they resemble Pillars; nor too Dwarfish and gross, lest they imitate the Piles or Peers of Bridges: Smoothness doth not so naturally become them, as a Rustick Superficies; for they aim more at Sease and Strength , than Elegancy. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower than one Third. nor broader than two parts of the whole Vacuity between Pylaster and Pylaster; but to those that stand at the Corners, may be allowed a little more Latitude by discretion, for strength of the Angles: In Theaters and Amphi-theaters, and fuch weighty Works. Palladio observeth them, to have been as broad as the half, and now and then as the whole Vacuity: He noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true Proportion should be an exact Square; But for lessening of expence, and inlarging of room, they are commonly narrower in Flank, than in Front: Their principal Grace doth confift in half or whole Pillars applied unto them; in which case it is well noted by Authors, that the Columns may be allowed fomewhat above their ordinary length, because they lean unto so good Supporters. And thus much shall suffice touching Pylasters, which is a cheap, and a strong, and a noble kind of Structure.

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty, and Majesty, found arched, than otherwise; I am here orderly led to speak of Arches, and under the same head of Vaults: for an Arch is nothing indeed but a contrasted Vault, and a Vault is but a dilated

pendloully, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole business into a few Theorems.

#### Theorem 1.

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All folid Materials free from impediment, do deletend perpendicularly downwards, because Ponderofity is a natural inclination to the Center of the World, and Nature performeth her Motions by the shortest lines.

#### Theorem 2.

Bricks moulded in their ordinary Restangular form, if they shall be laid one by another in a level row, between any Supporters sustaining the two ends, then all the pieces between will necessarily sink, even by their own natural Gravity; and much more, if they suffer any depression by other weight above them, because their sides being parallel, they have room to descend perpendicularly, without impeachment, according to the former Theorem; Therefore to make them stand, we must either change their Posture, or their Figure, or both.

## Theorem 3.

If Bricks moulded, or Stones squared Cunearin, (that is, Wedge-wise, broader above than below) shall be laid in a Row-level, with their ends supported, as in the precedent Theorem, pointing all to one Center; then none of the pieces between can fink till the Supporters give way, because they want room

room in that Figuration, to descend perpendicularly. But this is yet a weak piece of Structure, because the Supporters are subject to much impulsion, especially if the Line be long; for which reason this Form is seldom used, but over Windows, or narrow Doors. Therefore to fortiste the Work, as in this third Theorem, we have supposed the Figure of all the Materials different from those in the second: So like wife we must now change the Posture, as will appear in the Theorem following.

#### Theorem 4.

If the Materials figured as before Wedge-wife, shall not be disposed levely, but in form of some Arch, or portion of a Circle, politting all to the fame Center, in this case neither the pieces of the said Arch can fink downwards, through want of room to descend \* perpendicularly; Northe Theor. Supporters or Butments (as they are termed) of the faid Arch can fuffer fo much violence, as in the precedent flat posture; for the roundness will always make the incumbent weight rather to rest upon the Supporters , than to shove then; whence may be drawh an evident Corollary: That the fafeft of all Arches is the Semi-circular, and of all Paules the Hemisphere, though not absolutely exempted from some natural weak nels, \* as Bernardino Baldi, Abbot of \* Which is the Guaffalla, in his Commentary upon for Propositive Aristote's Mechanicks, doth very well times, and right proves where let me note, by the Angles. way, that when any thing is Mathe-matically demonstrated weak, it is much more Machangeally weak Errours ever occurring more eafily

easily in the management of Gross Materials, than Lineal Designs.

#### Theorem 5.

As Semi-circular Arches, or Hemispherical Vanlis, being raised upon the total Diameter, be of all other the roundest, and consequently the securest, by the precedent Theorem: So those are the gracefullest, which keeping precisely the same height, shall yet be distended one sourteenth part longer than the said entire Diameter; which addition of distent will confer much to their Beauty, and detract but little from their Strength.

This Observation I find in Leon-Buista Alberti; But the practice how to preserve the same height, and yet distend the Arms or Ends of the Arch, is in Albert Durers Geometry, who taught the stalians many an excellent Line of great use in this

Art.

Upon these five Theorems, all the skill of Arching and Vaulting is grounded: As for those Arches, which our Artizans call of the third and fourth point, And the Tuscan Writers di terzo, and di quarto acuto, because they always concur in an acute Angle, and do spring from division of the Diameter into three, four, or more parts, at pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the natural imbecility of the sharp Angle it self, and likewise for their very Uncomelines, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and lest to their first Inventors, the Gothes or Lumbards, amongst other Reliques of that barbarous Age.

Thus of my first Partition of the parts of every Fabrick, into five Heads, having gone through the

two former, and been incidently carried into this last Doctrine touching Arches and Vaules. The next now in order are the Apertions; under which term I do comprehend Doors, Windows, Stair Cases, Chimneys, or other Conducts: In short, all In-less; or Our-less; To which belong two general Cautions.

First, That they be as few in number, and as moderate in Dimension, as may possibly consist with other due respects: for in a word, all Openings are

Weaknings.

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Secondly, That they do not approach too near the Angles of the Walls; for it were indeed a mest essential Solecisme, to weaken that part which must strengthen all the rest: A precept, well recorded, but ill practifed by the Indians themselves, particularly at Venice, where I have observed divers Tergoli, or Memina (as Virgoim scemeth to call them, which are certain ballised outstandings to satisfy curiosity of sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very point it self of the Mural Angle.

Now, Albeit I make hafte to the coffing and comparting of the whole Work. (being indeed the very Definitive Summ of this Art., to difftibute alsfully and gracefully a well chosen Plot.) yet I will first under their several Heads, collect briefly some of the choicest notes belonging to these pacticular

Overtures:

#### Of Doors and Windows Ilan

There in hers of Men and of Light, I couple togenher, because I find their Dimensions brought under one Rule by Leon Alberti (a learned Searcher) who from the School of Pythagoras (where it was a fundamental Maxime, that the Images of all things are latent in Numbers) doth determine the comlieft proportion between breadths and heighths; Reducing Symmetry to Symphony, and the Harmony of Sound, to a kind of Harmony in Sight, after this manner: The two principal Confonances, that most ravish the Ear, are by confent of all Nature, the fifth, and the offace ; whereof the first rifeth radically from the proportion between two and three; The other from the double Interval, between one and two, or between proportions from Audible to Visible Objects; and apply them as they shall fall firtest (the nature of the place considered ) namely, in some Windows and Doors, the Symmetry of two or three in their Breadth and Length; in others, the double as aforesaid; There will indubitably result from either a graceful and harmonious contentment to the Eye: Which speculation, though it may appear unto vulgar Artizans, perhaps too subtil, and too sublime, yet we must remember, that Vierwing himself doth determine many things in his profession, by Musical Grounds, and much commendeth in an Architett a Philosophical Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficial, and floating Artificer; but a Diver into Caufes, and into the Mysteries of Proportion. Of the Ornaments belonging both to Doors and Windows, I shall speak in other place; but let me here add one Observation; That our Mafter (as appeareth by divers pallages; and particularly lib. 6. cap. 9.) feems to have been an extream Lover of Luminous Rooms; And indeed, I must confess,

that a Frank Light can mis-become no Edifice, whatfoever; Temples only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewise at this day in fome Proportion. Devotion more requiring collected than diffused Spirits. Yet on the other fide, we must take heed to make a House diffulivum (though but for civil nfe ) all Eyes, fui dy alieni. like Argus; which in Northern Climes would be too cold, in Southern too hot: and therefore the matter indeed importeth more than a merry comparison. Besides, There is no part of Siructure either more expenceful than Windows, or more ruinous; not only for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because confifting of fo different and unfociable pieces, as Wood, Iron, Lead and Glafs, and those small and weak, they are easily shaken; I must likewise remember one thing (though it be but a Grammatical Note) touching Doors: Some were Fores and some were Valve. Those (as the very word may feem to import) did open outwards, these inwards, and were commonly of two Leaves or Panes, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a leffer Circuit in their unfoldings; and therefore much in use among Italians at this day : But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they

## ·Of Stair-cafes.

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kept out worfe.

To make a compleat Stair - case, is a curious piece of Architetture: The vulgar Cautions are these:

That it have a very liberal Light, against all Cafurlty of Slips and Falls.

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That the space above the Head, be large and Aery, which the Italians use to call Un bels-fogolo, as it were good Ventilation, because a man doth spend much breath in mounting.

That the Half paces be well distributed at compe-.

tent distances, for reposing on the way.

That to avoid Encounters, and besides to gratise the beholder, the whole Stair-Case have no nigard Latitude, that is, for the principal Ascent, at least ten foot in Royal Buildings.

That the Breadth of every fingle Step or Stair be rever less than one foot, nor more than eighteen

inches.

That they exceed by no means half a foot in their height or thickness, for our Leggs do labour more in Elevation, than in Distention: These I say are familiar

remembrances; to which let me add,

That the steps be laid where they joyn Con un tantino di scarpa; we may translate it somewhat slopeing, that so the foot may in a fort both ascend and deicend together, which though observed by few, is a secret and delicate deception of the pains in

mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this Doctrine to some Natural or at least Manhematical ground, (our Master, as we see, tib. 9. cap. 2.) borroweth those proportions that make the sides of a Rectangular Triangle, which the Ancient School did express in lowest terms, by the numbers of Three, Four, and Five: That is Three for the Perpendicular, from the Stairbead to the ground; Four for the Ground line it self, or Recession from the wall; and Five for the whole. Inclination or slopeness in the ascent; which proporations. Hitherto of Stair-Cases, which are direct:

There are likewise Spiral, or Cockle Stairs, either Circular, or Oval, and sometimes running about a Pillar, sometimes vacant, wherein Palladio, (a man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to divide the Diameter of the first sort into three parts, yielding one to the Pillar, and two to the Steps; Of the second into sour, whereof he gave two to the Stairs, and two to the Vacuity, which had all their light from above. And this in exact Ovals is a Masterpiece.

#### Of Chimneys.

In the present business, Italians (who make very frugal fires) are perchance not the best Counsellors. Therefore from them we may better learn, both how to raise fair Mantels within the rooms, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of Chimneys abroad (as they use) in sundry forms, (which I shall handle in the latter part of my Labour) and the rest I will extract from Philippe de Porme; in this part of his Work more diligent than in any other; or, to do him right, than any man else.

First, he observeth very soberly, that who in the disposition of any Building will consider the nature of the Region, and the Winds that ordinarily blow from this, or that Quarter; might so cast the rooms which shall most need fire, that he should little fear the incommodity of Smoak: and therefore he thinks that inconvenience, for the most part, to proceed from some inconsiderate beginning. Or if the error lay not in the Disposition, but in the Structure it self; then he makes a Logical enquiry, that either the Wind is too much let in

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above, at the mouth of the Shaft, or the Smaok stiffed below: If none of these, then there is a repulsion of the Fume, by some higher Hill or Fabrick, that shall overtop the Chimney, and work the sormer effect: If likewise not this, than he concludes, that the Room which is insested, must be necessarily both little and close, so as the smook cannot issue by a natural Principle, wanting a succession.

fion and fupply of new Air.

Now, in these cases he suggesteth divers Artificial Remedies, of which I will allow one a little Description, because it savonreth of Philosophy, and was touched by Vierwoim himself, lib. 1. cap. 6. but by this man ingeniously applyed to the present use : He will have us provide two hollow brafs Balls, of reasonable capacity, with little holes open in both, for reception of Water when the Air shall be first sucked out ; One of these we must place with the hole upwards, upon an Iron Wire, that shall traverse the Chimney, a little above the Mantel, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heat or flames, whereof the Water within being rarified, and by rafifaction refolved into Wind, will break cut, and so force up the smook, which otherwise might linger in the Tunnel, by the way, and oftentimes revert; With the other, (faith he) we may supply the place of the former, when it is exhaufted; or for a need blow the Fire in the mean while: Which Invention I have interposed for fome little entertainment of the Reader; I will copclude with a note from Palladio, who observed that the Anciems did warm their Rooms with cerrain fecret Pipes that came through the Walls, transporting heat (as I conceive it) to fundry parts of the House from one common Furnace ; I

am ready to Baptize them Cali-dults, as well as they are termed Venti dults, and Aqua-dults, that convey Wind and Water; which whether it were a custom or a delicacy, was surely both for thrist, and for use, far beyond the German

Stoves; and I should prefer it likewise before our own fashion, if the very fight of a fire did not add to the Room a kind of Reputation, \* as old Homer doth teach us in a Verse, fuffi-

\* Al Boudis 3 TUESS POTTER NO LANG Hom. Epig.

cient to prove that himfelf was not blind, as fome

would lay to his charge.

Touching Conducts for the Suillage, and other necessities of the House, (which how base soever in use, yet for health of the Inhabitants, are as confiderable, and perhaps more than the refi ) I find in our Authors, this Counfel; That Are should imitate Nature, in those ignoble conveyances; and separate them from fight, (where there wants a running Water) into the most remote and lowest, and thickest part of the Foundation; with fecret vents passing up through the Walls like a Tunnel, to the wild Air aloft: which all Italian Artizans commend for the discharge of noisome vapours though elfe-where to my knowledge, little practifed.

Thus having confidered the precedent Apertions, or Overtures in severalty, according to their particular Requifites, I am now come to the casting and Contexture of the whole Work, comprehended under the term of Compartition: Into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without a few general Precautions, as I have done in other parts.

First therefore, let no man that intendeth to

build, settle his Fancy upon a draught of the Work in Paper, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in Perspective; and much less upon a bare Plane thereof, as they call the Sciographia or Ground lines; without a Model or Type of the whole Structure, and of every parcel and Partition in Pasiboard or Wood.

Next, that the faid Model be as plain as may be, without colours, or other beautifying, leaft the pleasure of the Eye pre-occupate the Judgment, which advice, omitted by the Italian Architetts, I find in Philippe de l'Orme; and therefore (though France be not the Theorer of best buildings) it did merit some

mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this Type be, it is still the better, not that I will persuade a man to such an enormity, as that Model made by Antenio Labaco of St. Peters Church in Rome, containing 22 foot in length, 76 in breadth, and 13 in heighth, and costing 4184 Crowns: The price, in truth, of a reasonable Chappel: yet in a Fabrick of some 40 or 30 thousand pounds charge, I wish 30 pounds at least laid out before hand in an exact Model; for a little misery in the Fremises, may casily breed some absurdicy of greater charge, in the Concin-

Now, after these premonishments, I will come to the Compartition it felf. By which, the Authors of this Art (as hath been touched before) do understand, a graceful, and useful distribution, of the whole Grand-plot, both for rooms of Office, and of Reception or Entertainment, as far as the Capacity thereof, and the nature of the Country will comport. Which circumstances in the present subject, are all of main consideration, and might yield more

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discourse than an Elemental Rapsodie will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the gracefulness: (whereof we speak) will consist in double Analogy, or correspondency. First between the parts and the whole, whereby a great Fabrick should have great Partitions, great Lights, great Entrances, great Pillurs or Pylasters: In summ, all the Members great. The next between the parts themselves, not only, considering their Breadths and Lengths, as before when we spake of Doors and Windows; but here likewise enters a third respect of Heighth, a point (I must consist wardly reduceable to

any general precept.

True it is, that the Ancients did determine the Longitude of all Rooms, which were longer than broad , by the double of their Latitude, Virruvius hb. 6. cap. 4. And the Heightb by the half of the breadth and length fummed rogether. But when the Room was precifely fquare, they made the Heighib half as much more as the Latitude; which Dimensions the Modern Archivetts have taken leave to vary, upon differetion: fometimes fquaring the Latitude, and then making the Diagonial or overthwart Line, from Angle to Angle, of the faid Square, the measure of the Helphih sometimes more but seldom lower than the full breadth it felf ; which boldness of quitting the old Proportions, some attribute first to Michael Angelo da Buonarori, perchance upon the credit he had before gotten in two other Arts.

The second Point is Usefulness, which will confift in a sufficient Number of Rooms, of all sorts, and in their apt Coherence, without distraction, without confusion; so as the beholder may not only call it. Una Fabrica ben raccolta, as Italians use to speak of

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well united Works, but likewife, that it may appear aiery and spirienous, and fit for the welcome of chearful Guests; about which the principal Difficulty will be in contriving the Lights, and Staircafet, whereof I will touch a note or two: For the first. I observe that the ancient Architetts were at much eafe. For both the Greeks and Romans (of whose private dwellings Virruvine hath left us some Description ) had commonly two cloistered open Courss, one ferving for the Womens fide, and the other for the Men; who yet perchance now a days would take so much separation unkindly. Howfoever by this means, the reception of Light into the Body of the building, was very prompt, both from without and from within : which we must now sapply, either by some open Form of the Fabrick, or among graceful refuges, by Tarraceing any Story, which is in danger of darkness; or last. ly by perpendicular Lights from the Roof, of all other the most natural, as shall be shewed anon. For the second Difficulty, which is calting of the Seair-Cafes; That being in it felf no hard point, but only as they are incumbrances of room for other use, (which lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved here to speak of them. And first of

I have marked a willingness in the Italian Artizans, to distribute the Kitchin, Pantry, Bakehouse, mashing-Rooms: and even the Buttery likewise, under ground, next above the Foundation, and semetimes level with the plain, or Floor of the Cellar: raising the first Ascent into the House fisteen Foot, or more, for that end; which besides the benefit of removing such annoise out of sight, and the gaining of so much more room above, doth also by

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by elevation of the From, add Majefty to the whole Afrect. And with fuch a disposition of the principal Seair-Cafe, which commonly dorh deliver us into the Plain of the fecond Story, there may be wonders done with a little room, whereof I could alledge brave Examples abroad; and none more Artificial and Delicious, than a House built by Daniele Barbaro Patriarch of Aquileia, before mentioned, among the memorable Commenters upon Virravius. But the Definition (above determined) doth call us to fome consideration of our own Country; where though all the other petty Offies (before rehearfed) may well enough be fo remote, yet by the natural Hospitality of England, the Buttery must be more visible, and we need perchance for our Raunges, a more spacious and luminous Kitchin than the foresaid compartition will bear; with a more competent nearness likewise to the Dining Room, or else besides other Inconveniences; perhaps fome of the Dishes may straggle by the way. Here let me note a common defect, that we have of a very useful Room, called by the Italians, Il tinello; and familiar, nay almost estential, in all their great Families. It is a place properly appointed to conferve the meat that is taken from the Table till the Waiters cat, which with us by an old fashion, is more unseemly set by in the mean while .

Now touching the distribution of Lodging-Chambers; I must here take leave to reprove a fashion, which I know not how, hath privailed
through Italy, though without ancient examples,
as far as I can perceive by Virravina. The thing I
mean, is that they so cast their partitions, as when
all Doors are open, a man may see through the
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whole House, which doth necessarily put an intolegable fervitude upon all the Chambers fave the Inmost, where none can arrive but through the rest; or else the Walls must be extream thick for secret passages. And yet this also will not serve the turn, without at least Three doors to every Room : A thing most insufferable in cold and windy Regions, and every where no finall weakning to the whole Work: Therefore with us that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of fuch Overwes, being indeed merely grounded upon the fond ambition of displaying to a Stranger all our Furniture at one Sight, which therefore is most maintained by them that mean to harbour but a few; whereby they make only advantage of the vanity, and feldom prove the Inconvenience. There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldom folitary ) which will necessarily follow upon fuch a fervile disposing of inward Chambers; That they must be forced to make as many common great Rooms, as there shall be feveral Stories; which (befides that they are usually dark, a point hardly avoided, running as they do, through the middle of the whole House) do likewife devour so much Place, that thereby they want other Galleries, and Rooms of Retreat, which I have often confidered among them ( I must confels) with no small wonder; for I observe no Nation in the World, by nature more private and reserved, than the Italian; and on the other side in no Habitations less privacy; so there is a kind of Conflict between their Dwelling and their Being : It might here perchance be expected; that I should at least describe (which others have done in draughts and designs) divers Forms of Plants and ParPartitions, and varieties of Inventions; but speculative Writers (as I am) are not bound to comprize all particular Cases within the Latitude of the Subjett which they handle; General Lights, and Directions, and pointing at some faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the sagacity of the Architect, who will be often put to divers ingenious shifts, when he is to wrestle with scarcity of Ground, \* The Italians call it As sometimes \* to damm one una stanza dannata, Room (though of special use) for cast under a Stairthe benefit and beauty of all the Case or the like.

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fairest, which are most in Sight, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in shadow, cum multis aliss, which it were infinite to pursue. I will therefore close this part touching Compartition, as chearfully as I can, with a short description of a Feating or entertaining Room, after the Egyptian manner, who feem (at least till the time of Vitruvius) from the ancient Hebrews and Phanicians (whence all knowledge did flow) to have retained with other Science, in a high degree, also the Principles and practice of this magnificent Art. For as far as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, lib.6. cap. 5. (where, as in many other places he hath tortured his Interpreters) there could no Form for foch a Royal use be comparably imagined like that of the foresaid Nation, which I shall adventure to explain.

Let us conceive a Floor or Area of goodly length, (for example, at least of 120 Food) with the breadth somewhat more than the half of the Longitude, whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendered. About the two longest Sides and Head of

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the said Room shall run an Order of Pillars, which Palladio doth suppose Corimbian, (as I see by his design) supplying that point out of Greece, because we know no Order proper to Agypt. The south Side I will leave free for the Entrance: On the forestaid Pillars was laid an Architrave, which Virnvim mentioneth alone: Palladio adds thereunto (and with reason) both Freez and Cornice, over which went up a continued Wall, and therein half or three quarter Pillars answering directly to the order below, but a fourth part less; and between these half Columnes above, the whole Room was windowed round abour.

Now, from the lowest Pillars there was laid over a Contignation or Floor born upon the cutward Wall, and the Head of the Columns with Tarrace and Pavement, Sub dio (faith our Mafter;) and so indeed he might fafely determine the matter in Agypt, where they fear no Clouds; therefore Palladio (who leaveth this Tarrace uncovered in the middle, and ballifed about ) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein difcording from others: Always we must under. stand a sufficient breadth of Pavement left between the open part and the Windows, for some delight of Spectators, that might look down into the Room: The Latitude I have supposed; contrary to some former Politions, a little more than the half of the length; because the Pillars standing at a competent distance from the outmost Wall, will by interception of the Sight, fomewhat in appearance diminish the breadth; in which cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) Discretion may be more licentions than Art. This is the Description of an Levetian Room for Fealis and other Follities. About ich

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About the Walls whereof we must imagine intire Statues placed below, and illuminated by the descending light from the Tarrace, as likewise from the Windows between the half Pillars above : So as this Room had abundant and advantageous Light; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much State by the very height of the Roof, that lay over two Orders of Columns. And so having run through the four parts of my first general Division, mamely, Foundations, Walls, Apertions, and Compartition, the House may now have leave to put on his Hat, having hitherto been uncovered it felf, and consequently unfit to cover others. Which point, though it be the last of this Art in execution , yet it is always in Intention the first : For who would build but for Shelter? Therefore obtaining both the Place, and the dignity of a Final Caufe, it hath been diligently handled by divers , but by none more learnedly than Bernardino Baldi, Abbot of Guaffalla (before cited upon other occafion) who doth fundamentally, and Mathematically Demonstrate the firmest Knittings of the upper Timbers, which make the Roof. But it hath been rather my Scope, in these Elements, to fetch the ground of all from Nature her felf, which indeed is the simplest Mother of Art. Therefore I will now only deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may fay ) of the naturallest considerations that belong to this remaining Piece.

There are two Extremities to be avoided in the Cover or Roof: that it be not too heavy, nor too light. The first will suffer a valgar Objection of pressing too much the under-work. The other containeth a more secret inconvenience; for the Cover is not only a bare desence, but likewise a

kind of Band or Ligature to the whole Fabrick and therefore would require some reasonable weight. But of the two extreams, a House Top-heavy is the worst. Next, there must be a care of Equality, that the Edifice be not pressed on the one side more than on the other; and here Palladio doth wish (like a cantelous Artizan) that the inward Walls might bear some good share in the burthen, and the outward be the less charged.

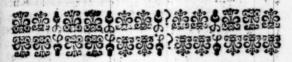
Thirdly, the Italians are very precise in giving the cover a graceful pendence of slopeness, dividing the whole breadth into nine Parts; whereof two shall ferve for the elevation of the highest Top or Ridge from the lowest. But in this point the quality of the Region is considerable: For (as our Vituavim infinuateth) those Climes that fear the falling and lying of much Snow, ought to provide more inclining Pemices: and Comeliness must yield to Necessity.

These are the usefullest Cautions which I had in Authors, touching the last Head of our Division, wherewith I will conclude the first part of my present Travel. The second remaineth, concerning Ornaments within, or without the Fabrick: A Piece not so dry as the meer Contemplation of Preportions. And therefore I hope therein somewhat to refresh both the Reader, and my self.

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Very Mans proper Mansion House and Home, being the Theater of his Hofpitality, the Seat of Self-fruition, the Comfortablest part of his own Life, the noblest of his Sons Inheritance, a kind of private Princedome ; Nay , to the

Possessors thereof, an Epitomie of the whole World; may well deferve by thefe Auributes, according to the degree of the Mafter, to be decently and delight fully adorned. For which end, there are two Arts attending on Architedure, like two of her principal Gentlewomen, to dreft and trim their Miftrefs,; PICTURE and SCULPTURE: Between whom, before I proceed any further, 1; will

will venture to determine an ancient quarrel about their Precedency, with this Distinction; that in the garnishing of Fabricks, Sculpture no doubt must have the preheminence, as being indeed of nearer affinity to Architecture it self, and consequently the more natural and more suitable Ornament. But on the other side (to consider these two Arts as I shall do Philosophically, and not Mechanically.) An excellent Piece of Painting, is, to my judgment, the more admirable Object, because it comes near an Artisicial Miracle, to make divers distinct Emineces appear a Flat by force of shadows, and yet the shadows themselves not to appear; which I conceive to be the uttermost value and vertue of a Painter, and to which very sew have arrived in all Ages.

In these two Arts (as they are appliable to the subject which I handle) it shall be fit first to consider how to choose them; and next how to dispose them. To guide us in the choice, we have a Rule somewhere (I well remember) in Pliny, and it is a pretty observation; That they do mutually help to censure one another. For Pisture is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved; and Sculpture is best when it appeareth so tender, as if it were painted: I mean when there is such a seeming softness in the Limbs, as if not a Chifel had hewed them out of Stone, or other Material, but a Pencil had drawn and stroaked them in Oyl; which the judicious Poet took well

to his Fancy.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius ara.

But this generality is not sufficient to make a good chooser, without a more particular contraction of his Judgement. Therefore when a piece of Art is set before us, let the first Caution be, not to ask who made it, lest the Fame of the Author do Cap-

Captivate the Fancy of the Buyer. For, that excellent Men do always excellently, is a false Conclusion; whereupon I observe among Italian Artizans, three notable Phrases, which well decypher the degrees of their Works.

They will tell you, that a thing was done Con diligenza, Con studio, and Con Amore; The first is but a bare and ordinary diligence; The second is a learned diligence; The third is much more, even a loving diligence: They mean not with love to the Bespeaker of the Work, but with a love and delight in the Work it self, upon some special Fancy to this or that Story; and when all these concurr (particularly the last) in an eminent Ambor, then perchance Tatianus secit, or in self-sias, inview will serve the turn without farther Inquisition; Otherwise Artizans have not only their Growths and Persettions, but likewise their Veins and Times.

The next Caution must be (to proceed Logically) that in judging of the Work it self, we be not distracted with too many things at once; Therefore (first to begin with Picture:) we are to observe whether it be well drawn, (or as more elegant Artizans termist) well Design'd; Then, whether it be well Coloured, which be the two general Heads; and each of them hath two principal Requisites; for in well Designing, there must be Truth and Grace; In well Colouring, Force and Affection; all other Praises are but Consequences of these:

Truth (as we Metapherically take it in this Art) is a Just and Natural Proportion in every Part of the determined Figure: Grace is a certain Free Disposition in the whole Draught, answerable to that unaffected Frankness of Fashion in a living Body, Mera

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or Women, which doth animate Beauty where it is,

and supply it; where it is not.

Force confifteth in the Roundings and Raifings of the Work, according as the Limbs do more or less require it; So as the Bebolder shall spie no sharpness in the bordering Lines ; As when Taylors cut out a Sute, which Italians do aptly term according to that comparison, Contorni taglienti; Not any flatnels within the Body of the Figure, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher Discipline; For the Opticks teach us, That a plain will appear promiment , and (asit were) emboffed , if the Parts farthest from the Axle-tree, or middle Beam of the Eye, shall be most shadowed; because in all Darknels, there is a kind of Deepnels. But as in the Art of perswafton, one of the most Fundamental Precepts is the Concealment of Art; fo here likewife, the Sight must be fweetly deceived by an insensible passage, from brighter colours to dimmer, which Italian Artizans call the middle Tinciures ; That is, Not as the whites and yolks of Eggs lie in the Shell, with visible distinction; But as when they are beaten and blended in a Diff, which is the nearest comparison that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, Affection is the Lively Representment of any passion whatsoever, as if the Figures stood not upon a Cloth or Board, but as if they were acting upon a Stage; and here I must remember, in truth with much marvel, a note which I have received from excellent Artizans, That though Gladness and Grief be opposites in Nature; yet they are such Neighbors and Confiners in Art, that the least touch of a Pencil will translate a crying into a Laughing Face, as it is represented by Homer, in the person

of Hettor's wife; as Painters and Poets have always had a kind of congeniality,

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Ως εἰπῶν ἀλόχοις Φίλης ἐν χερσιν ὅθηκε, Παϊδ' ἐὸν, ἥδ' ἀρα μὶν κηω δεὶ δέξοξο κόλπο, Δακρύξι γιλάσασα. Τhat is,

She took her Son into her Arms, weepingly laughing.

Which Instance, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memory, that ingenious Speculation of the Cardinal Cusanus, extant in his Works, touching the coincidence of Extremes. And thus much of the four Requisites, and Perfections in Picture.

In Sculpture likewise, the two first are absolutely necessary; The third impertinent; For Solid Figures need no elevation, by force of Lights, or Shadows; therefore in the Room of this we may put (as hath been before touched) a kind of Tenderness, by the Italians termed Morbidezza, wherein the Chizel, I must consess, hath more glory than the Pencil; that being so hard an Instrument, and working upon so unpliant stuff, can yet leave Strokes of so gentle appearance.

The Fourth, which is the expressing of Affection (as far as it doth depend upon the Activity and Gesture of the Figure) is as proper to the Carver, as to the Painter; though Colours, no doubt, have therein the greatest power; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the Fashion of colouring, even Regal Stances, which I must take leave to call an

English Barbarism.

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Now in these four Requisites already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no Artizan, having ever been blamed for excess in any of the three last; only Truth (which should seem the most Innocent) hath suffered some Objection; and all Ages have yielded some one or two Artisters so prodigiously exquisite, that they have been reputed too Natural in their Draughts; which will well appear by a samous passage in Quintillian, touching the Charalters of the ancient Artizans, falling now so aptly into my Memory, that I must needs translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The place which I intend, is extant in the last Chapter save one of his whole Work, beginning thus

in Latine;

Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratia visen da sunt clari Pictores, suisse dicumur Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.

The whole Passage in English standeth thus.

THE first Painters of Name, whose Works be considerable for any thing more than only Antiquity, are said to have been Polygnotus and Aglaophon; whose bare Colouring, he means I think in white and black, hath even yet so many sollowers, that those rude and first Elements, as it were of that, which within a while, became an Art, are preferred before the greatest Painters that have been extant after them, out of a certain Competition, as I conceive it, in point of Judgment. After these, Zeuxes and Parasius, not far distant in age, both about the time of the Peloponnessan War, for in Xenophon we have a Dialogue between Parasius and Sourates, did add much to this Art. Of which the first

first is faid to have invented the due disposition of Lights and Shadows; The second, to have more subtilly examined the Truth of Lines in the Draugh; for Zeuxes did make Limbs bigger than the Life; deeming his Figures, thereby the more stately and Majestical; and therein, as some think, imitating Homer, whom the stoutest Form doth please, even in Women. On the other fide, Parafin did exactly limit all the Proportions fo, as they call him the Langiver, because in the Images of the Gods, and of Heroical Personages, others have followed his Patterns like a Decree; But Picture did most flourish about the days of Philip, and even to the Successors of Alexander; yet by fundry Habilities: for Protogenes did excel in Diligence; Pamphilus and Melanthius in due Proportion ; Antiphilus in a frank Facility; Theon of Samos, in frength of Fantafie and conceiving of Passions; Apelles in Invention and Grace, whereof he doth himself most vaunt; Euphranor deserves admiration, that being in other excellent Studies a principal Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in Painting and Sculpture. The like difference we may observe among the Statuaries; for the Works of Calon and Egefias were somewhat stiff, like the Tuscan Manner; Those of Calamis not done with so cold strokes; and Myron more tender than the former ; a diligent Decency in Polycletus above others; to whom though the highest praise be attributed by the most, yet lest he should go free from exception, some think he wanted folemness; for as he may perchance be faid to have added a comely Dimension to humane shape, somewhat above the truth; so on the other fide, he feemed not to have fully expressed the Majesty of the Gods: Moreover, he is faid not to have medled

medled willingly with the graver age, as not adventuring beyond smooth cheeks : But these vertues that were wanting in Polycletm, were supplyed by Phidias and Alemenes ; yet Phidias was a better Artizan in the representing of Gods than of Men; and in his works of Ivory, beyond all Emulation, even though he had left nothing behind him but his Minervo at Athens , or the Olympian Jupiter in Elis , whose Beauty feems to have added somewhat, even to the received Religion; the Majefty of the Work, as it were, equalling the Deity. To Truth, they affirm Lyfippus and Praxiteles, to have made the nearest approach: for Demetrius is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding than deficient; having been a greater aimer at Likeness, than at Love-

line fs.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans which Quintillian hath left us, where the last Character of Demetrius doth require a little Philosophical Examination; How an Artificer, whose end is the Imitation of Nature; can be too natural; which likewise in our days was either the fault or (to speak more gently) the too much perfection of Albert Durer, and perhaps also of Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, between whom I have heard noted by an ingenious Artizan a pretty nice difference, that the German did too much express that which was; and the Italian, that which should be : Which fevere Observation of Nature by the one in her commonest, and by the other in her absolutest Forms, must needs produce in both a kind of Rigidity, and confequently more Naturalness than Gracefulness: this is the clearest reason why some exact Symmetrifts have been blamed for being too true, as near as I can deliver my conceit. And fo

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much touching the choice of Picture and Schupture: The next is, the application of both to the beautifying of Fabricks.

First therefore, touching Picture, there doth occurr a very pertinent doubt, which hath been passed over too slightly, not only by some Men,. but by fome Nations; namely, whether this Ornament can well become the Outside of Houses, wherein the Germans have made fo little scruple, that their best Towns are the most painted, as Augusta and Norembergh. To determine this question in a word; It is true; that a Story well fet out with a good Hand, will every where take a Judicious Eye: But yet withal it is as true, that various colours on the Out-Walls of Buildings, have always in them more Delight than Dignity: Therefore I would there admit no Paintings but in Black and White, nor even in that kind any Figures (if the Room be capable) under Nine of Ten Foot high, which will require no ordinary Artizan; because the faults are more visible than in small Designs. In unfigured paintings the noblest is the imitation of Marbles, and of Architecture it felf, as Arches, Treezes, Columns, and the like.

Now for the Inside, here grows another doubt, wherein Grosesca (as the Italians) or Antique-work (as we call it) should be received; against the express Authority of Vitravisus himself, lib. 7. cap. 5. where Pistura (saith he) sit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse; excluding by this severe definition, all Figures composed of different Natures or Sexes; so as a Syrene or a Centaure had been intolerable in his Eye: But in this we must take leave to depart from our Master; and the rather, because he spake out of his own Profession, allowing Paimers (who have

have ever been as little limited as Poets ) a less fcope in their imaginations, even than the gravest Philosophers, . who sometimes do serve themseves of Instances that have no Existence in Nature; as we fee in Plato's Amphisbana, and Ariftotle's Hirco-And (to fettle this point) what was indeed more common and familiar among the Romans themselves, than the Pilture and Statue of Termimus, even one of their Deities? which yet if we well consider, is but a piece of Grotesca; I am for these reasons unwilling to impoverish that Art, though I could wish such medly and motly Designs confined only to the Ornament of Freezes, and Borders, their properest place. As for other Storied Works upon Walls, I doubt our Clime be too yielding and moist for fuch Garnishment; therefore leaving it to the Dwellers discretion, according to the quality of his Seat, I will only add a caution or two about the disposing of Pictures within.

First, That no Room be furnished with too many; which in truth, were a surfeit of Ornament, unless they be Galleries, or some peculiar Repository

for Rarities of Art.

Next, That the best Pieces be placed not where there are the least, but where there are the fewest lights: therefore not only Rooms windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted; but with two or more Windows on the same side, are Enemies to this Art: and sure it is, that no Painting can be seen in full persection, but (as all Nature is illuminated) by a single Light.

Thirdly, That in the placing there be some care

Thirdly, That in the placing there be some care also taken how the Painter did stand in the working, which an intelligent Eye will easily discover; and that posture is the most natural: so as Italian Pieces

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will appear best in a Room where the Windows are high, because they are commonly made to a descending Light, which of all other doth set off

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Lastly, that they be as properly bestowed for their quality as fitly for their grace: that is, chearful Paintings in Feasting and Banqueting Rooms; Graver Stories in Galleries; Land-Skips and Boscage, and such wild works, in open Tarraces, or in Summer-Houses (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of Pilture; which let me çlose with this Note; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable leading in the choice of such delights; yet let no man hope by such a speculative erudition, to discern the Masterly and mysterious touches of Art, but an Artizan himself; to whom therefore we must leave the prerogative to censure the manner and handling, as he himself must likewise leave some points, perchance of no less value to others; as for example, whether the Story be rightly represented, the Figures in true astion, the persons suited to their several qualities, the affections proper and strong, and such like Observations.

Now for Sculpture, I must likewise begin with a Controversy, as before (falling into this place;) or let merather call it a very meer Fancy, strangely taken by Palladio, who having noted in an old Arch or two at Verona, some part of the Materials already cut in fine Forms, and some unpolished, doth conclude (according to his Logick) upon this particular, that the Ancients did leave the outward Face of their Marbles or Free-Stone, without any Sculpture, till they were laid and cemented in the Body

Body of the Building; For which likewise he findeth a reason, as many do now and then very wittily, even before the thing it felf be true, that the Materials being left rough, were more manageable in the Mason's hand, than if they had been Smoot b; and that so the fides might be laid together the more exactly; which Conceit, once taken; he feems to have further imprinted, by marking in certain Storied Sculptures of old time, how precifely the Parts and Lines of the Figures, that pass from one Stone to another, do Meet; which he thinks could hardly fall out fo right, forgetting while he speaks of ancient things, the ancient Diligence, unless they had been cut after the joyning of the Materials. But all these Inducements cannot countervail the fole Inconvenience of Chaking and difjoynting the Commissures with fo many strokes of the Chizel, besides an Incommodious Working on Scaffolds; especially having no testimony to confirm it, that I have yet feen , among the records of Art : Nay, it is indeed rather true, that they did fquare, and carve, and polish their Stone and Marble Works, even in the very Cave of the Quarry before it was hardened by open Air: But, to leave disputation, I will fet down a few Positive notes for the placing of Sculpture; because the choosing hath been handled before.

That first of all, it be not too general and abundant, which would make a House look like a Cabinet: and in this point, moral Philosophy, which tempereth Fancies, is the Superintendent of Art.

That especially, there be a due moderation of this Ornamem in the first approach; where our Authors do more commend, I mean about the Principal

cipal Entrance, a Dorique, than a Corimbian garnishment; So as if the great Door be Arched with some brave Head, cut in sine Stone or Marble for the Key of the Arch, and two Incumbent Figures gracefully leaning upon it towards one another, as if they meant to confer, I should think this a sufficient Entertainment for the first Reception of any judicious Sight, which I could wish seconded with two great standing Statnes on each side of a paved way that shall lead up into the Fabrick, so as the Beholder at the first entrance may pass his eye between them.

That the Nices, if they contain Figures of white Stone or Marble, be not coloured in their Concavity too black, For though Contraria juxta se posita magis illutescume (by an old Rule;) yet it hath been subtilly, and indeed truly noted, that our Sight is not well contented with those sudden departments from one extream to another: Therefore let them have rather a Dinkish Tincture, than an absolute

black.

That fine and delicate Sculptures be helped with Nearness, and Gross with distance; which was well seen in the old Controversie between Phidias and Alemenes about the Statue of Venus: wherein the sirst did shew discretion, and save labour, because the Work was to be viewed at good Height, which did drown the sweet and diligent strokes of his Adversary: a samous emulation of two Principal Artizans, celebrated even by the Greek Poets.

That in the placing of standing Figures alost, we must set them in a Posture somewhat bowing forward; because (saith our Master, lib. 3. cap. 3. out of a better Art than his own) the visual beam

of our Eye, extended to the Head of the faid Figures, being longer than to the Foot, must necessarily make that part appear farther; fo as to reduce it to an erect or upright position, there must be allowed a due advantage of fooping towards as; which Albert Durer hath exactly taught in his forementioned Geometry. Our Vitruvius calleth this affection in the Eye, a resupination of the Figure ! For which word (being in truth his own, for ought I know) we are almost as much beholding to him, as for the Observation it self: and let thus much fummarily fuffice touching the choice and use of these adorning Arts. For to speak of garnishing the Fabrick with a Row of erected Statues about the Cornice of every Contignation of Story, were discourse more proper for Athens or Rome; in the time of their true greatness, when (as Pliny recordeth of his own Age) there were near as many carved Images, as living Men; like a noble contention, even in point of Fertility, between Art and Nature; which passage doth not only argue an infinite abundance, both of Artizans and Materials; but likewise of Magnificent and Majestical Desires in every common person of those times, more or less, according to their Fortunes. And true it is indeed, that the Marble Monuments and Memories of well deferving Men, wherewith the veryHigh-wayes were fremed on eachlide, was not abare and transitory Entertainment of the Ew, or only a gentle deception of Time to the Traveller: But had also a secret and strong Influence, even into the advancement of the Monarchy, by continual representation of Vertuous Examples; so as in that point, ART became a piece of State,

Now, as I have before subordinated Picture and

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Sculpture to Architecture, as their Mistris; fo there are certain inferior ARTS likewise subordinate to them; as under Picture, Mosaigue; under Sculpture, Plastique: which two I only nominate, as the fittest to garnish Fabricks.

Mosaique; Is a kind of Painting in small Pebbles, Cockles and Shells of sundry colours; and of late dayes likewise with pieces of Glass figured at pleasure; an Ornament in truth, of much beauty, and long Life; but of most use in pavements and

floorings.

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Paltique, Is not only under Sculzture, but indeed very Sculpture it felf: but with this difference; that the Plaisterer doth make his Figures by Addition, and the Carver by Substraction; whereupon Michael Angelo was wont to fay fomewhat pleafantly: That Sculpture was nothing but a purgation of Superfluities. For take away from a piece of wood or stone, all that is superfluons, and the remainder is the intended Figure. Of this plastick Art, the chief use with us is in the graceful freezing of Roofs: But the Italians apply it to the mantling of Chimneys with great Figures, a cheap piece of Magnificence, and as durable almost within doors, as harder Forms in the weather. And here, though it be a little excursion, I cannot pass unremembred agair, their manner of disguising the shafts of Chimneys in various fashions, whereof the noblest is the Pyramidd: being in truth a piece of Polite and Civil discretion, to convert even the conduits of soot and smook into Ornaments; whereof I have hitherto spoken as far as may concern the Body of the Buildmg.

Now these are Ornaments also without, as Gardens, Fountains, Groves, Conservatories of rare
Bensis.

Beafts, Birds, and Fishes. kind of Creatures, We ought not, faith our greatelt \*Mafter among the Sons of Nature, childishly to dispise the Contemplation; for in all things that are natural, there is ever Comething that is admirable. Of these external delights a rois quanois iresi Ti word or two.

\* Arift. lib. 1. cap. 5. de part. Anim. Sei uit Sugarante author The שבו או פדונוט (סטי לסטי Mioxeler. Er man 28 Jaumas by.

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First, I must note a certain contrariety between building and gardening: For as Fabricks should be regular, so Gardens should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wild Regularity. To exemplifie my conceit, I have feen a Garden, for the manner perchance incomparable, into which the first Accels was a high walk like a Tarrace, from whence might be taken a general view of the whole Plot below, but rather in a delightful confusion, than with any plain distinction of the pieces. From this the Beholder descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed again by feveral mountings and valings, to various entertainments of his fent and fight: which I shall not need to describe, for that were poetical, let me only note this that every one of these diversities, was as if he had been magically transported into a new Garden.

But though other Countries have more benefit of Sun than we, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this delight; yet have I feen in our own, a delicate and diligent curiofity, furely without parallel among foreign Nations: Namely, in. the Garden of Sir Henry Fansham, at his Seat in. Ware-Park; where I well remember, he did so precisely examine the tinttures and Seasons of his flowers, that in their settings, the inwardest of which

that

that were to come up at the same time, should be always a little darker than the samost, and so serve them for a kind of gentle shadow, like a piece, not of Nature, but of Art: which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his Name, for the dear friendship that was long between us: though I must consess, with much wrong to his other vertues; which deserve a more solid Memorial, than among these vacant Observations. So much of Gardens.

Fournains are figured, or only plain Water'dworks: Of either of which, I will describe a match-

less pattern.

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n o is The first, done by the famous hand of Michael Angelo da Baonarori, in the figure of a sturdy woman, washing and winding of linen cloths; in which Act, she wrings out the water that made the Fountain; which was a graceful and natural conceit in the Artisicer, implying this rule; That all designs

of this kind, should be proper.

The other doth merit fome larger expression; There went a long, straight, mossie walk of competent breadth, green, and foft under foot, lifted on both sides with an Aquaduct of white stone, brest-high, which had a hollow Channel on the top, where ran a pretty trickling stream; on the edge whereof, were couched very thick all along, certain small pipes of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cock, they did spout over interchangeably from fide to fide, above mans height, in forms of Arches, without any interfection or meeting aloft, because the pipes were not exactly oppofite; fo as the Beholder, besides that which was fluent in the Aquaduct; on both hands in his view, did walk. walk, as it were, under a continual Bower and Hemisphere of water, without any drop falling on him. An Invention for refreshment, surely far excelling all the Alexandrian Delicacies, and Pneumaticks of Hero.

Groves, and artificial Devices under ground, are of great expence, and little dignity; which for my part, I could wish converted here into those Crypteria, whereof mention is made among the curious provisions of Tycho Brabe the Danish Ptolemy, as I may well call him: which were deep concaves in Gardens, where the Stars might be observed even at noon. For (by the way) to think that the brightness of the Suns body above, doth drown our discerning of the lesser lights, is a populor errour; the sole impediment being that lustre, which, by reflection, doth spread about us from the face of the Earth; so as the caves before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

In Aviaries of Wire, to keep Birds of all forts, the Italians (though no wasteful Nation) do in some places bestow vast expence; including great scope of ground, variety of bushes, trees of good height, running waters, and sometime a Stove annexed, to contemper the Air in Winter. So as those Chameresses, unless they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing, as in their voice, may live long among so good provisions, and room, before they know that they are prisoners; reducing often to my memory that conceit of the Roman Stoick, who in comparison of his own free comemplations, did think divers great and splendent fortunes of his time, little more than commodions

captivities.

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Concerning Ponds of Pleasure near the habitation ; I will refer my felf to a grave Awbor of our own (though more illustrious by his other \* work) namely Sarisburiensis Carriel tes. de Piscina

And here I will end the fecond part touching Ornaments both within and without the Fa-

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which (es I find in the beat sind Now besiglmost all those which have delivered the Elements of Logick, do usually conclude with a Chapter touching Method: fo I am here feized with a kind of critical spirit, and desirous to shur up these building Elements with Some Methodical direction how to censure Fabricks already raised: for indeed, without some way to contract our Judgement; which among to many particulars. would be left by diffusion. I should think it almost harder to be a good Censurer, than a good Architect !: Because the working may be helped with Deliberation, but the Judging much flow from an extemporal habit. Therefore (not to leave this last Piece without some Light ) I could with him that cometh to examine any nobler Work first of all to examine himself, whether perchance the fight of many brave things before ( which remain like impressed forms) have not made him apt to think nothing good but that which is the beft; for this humour were too fowre. Next, before he come to fettle any imaginable opinion, let him by all means feek to inform himfelf precifely, of the Age of the Work upon which he must pass his Doom And if he shall find the apparent Decays to exceed the preportion of Time; then let bim conclude withour farther inquisition, as an absolute Decree, that either the Materials were too fight, or the Seat is mought. Now, after these premisses, if the House

be found to bear his years well, (which is always a token of found constitution.) Then let him suddenly run backwards , (for the Method of cenfuring is contrary to the Method of composing) from the Ornaments (which first allure the Eye) to the more ellential Members, till at last he be able to form this Conclusion, that the Work is Commodious, Firm, and Delightful; which (as I faid in the beginning) are the three capital Conditions, required in good Bullings, by all Anthors, both Ancient and Modern. And this is, as I may term it the most Seientifical way of Censuring. There are two other which I must not forget : The first in Georgio Vaffari, before his laborious Work of the lives of Architette, which is to pass a running examination over the whole Edifice, according to the properties of a well hapen Man. As whether the Walls stand upright upon clean footing and Foundation; whether the Fabrick be of a beautiful Stature; whether for the breadth it appear well burnished whether the principal Entrance be on the middle Line of the From or Face, like our Mouths , whether the Windows, as our Eyes, be fet in equal number and distance on both sides; whether the Offiees, like the Veins in our Bodies, be usefully distributed, and fo forth. For this Allegorical review may be driven as far as any Wir will, that is at leifure.

The second way is in Virruvim himself, lib, t. eap. 2. where he summarily determineth six Considerations, which accomplish this whole

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Whereof (in my conceit) we may spare him the first two; for as far as I can perceive, either by his Interpreters, or by his own Tears (which in that very place, where perchance he should be clearefrie of all other the cloudieft) he ineaperh nothing by Ordination, but a well fetling of the World or Scale of the whole Work. Nor by Diffeficion more than a near and full expression of the first later or Designment thereof; which perchance do more belong to the Arrificer, than to the Cenfurthing The other four are enough to condemn, or absolve any Fabrick, whatfoever. Whereof Eurythmia is that agreeable Harmony, between the breadth 3 length. and height of all the Rooms of the Fabrick, which fuddenly, where it is, taketh every Beholder by the fecret power of Proportion , wherein lets me only note thise That though the least error or offence that can be committed against fight, is excess of beight & yet that fault is no where of small importance, because it is the greatest offence against the eren from Jones well-meaning man a That Plat .

Squaretria is the convenience that runneth between the Parts and the Whole, whereof I have formerly

Decor is the keeping of a due Respect between the Inhabitant and the Habitation. Whence Palladim did. conclude, that the principal Entrance was never to be regulated by any certain Dimensions, but by the dignity of the Master; yet to exceed rather in the more, than in the less, is a mark of Generosity, and may always be excused with some noble Emblem.

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or Inscription, as that of the Conte di Bavillacqua, over his large Gate at Verona, where perchance had been committed a little Disproportion.

#### Paret Juna, Cor magus, 200134

And here likewise I must remember our ever memorphic Sir Philip Sidney, (whose Wir was in trush the nergi rule of Congruey) who well knowing that Bassian (as he had painted the Sime of his Mond) did rather want some extraordinary Form to entertain his Fancy, than room for Coursers; was contented to place him in a Sravible Lodge; which generated in severe Judgment of Art, had been as incommodious Pieure.

Difference is that ufeful Caffing of all Rooms for Office of Emercainment, or Pleasure which I have handled before at more length than any other Pieces, and the control of the control of

Thefe are the four Head which every man should run over, before he pass any determinate confine upon the Works that he shall view pwherewith ! will close this last party touching Ornament Ad gainft which (me thinks) I hear be Objection even from fome well-meaning man; That thefe delightful Crafts, may be divers ways in applyed in a Land. I must confess indeed, there may be a Lascivious, and there may be likewise a superficion ule, both of Picture and Sentpeure : To which poffibility of mif-application, not only thefe Sent li herid Arts are fubject but even the highest perfe ctions and Endowments of Nature. As Beauty in a light woman; Eloquence in a mutinous man; Refobrian in an Affaffinate; Prudent Observation of hours and humours in a corrupt Convier; Sharpne s

ness of wit and argument in a seducing Scholar, and the like. Nay, finally, let me ask what ART can be more pernicious, than even RELIGION it self, if it self be converted into an Infrument of ART: Therefore, Ab abuti ad non mi,

negatur consequentia.

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Thus having stitched (in some fort) together these Animadversions touching Architecture, and the Ornaments thereof; I now feel that contemplative spirits are as restless as active, for doubting with my felf, (as all weakness is jealous) that I may he thought to have spent my poor observation abroad about nothing but Stone and Timber, and fuch Rubbage; I am thereby led into an immodesty of proclaiming another Work, which I have long devoted to the fervice of my Countrey: Namely, A Philosophical Survey of Education, which is indeed a fecond Building, or repairing of Nature, and as I may term it, a kind of Moral Architecture; whereof fuch Notes as I have taken in my foreign transcursions or abodes, I hope to utter without publick offence, though still with the freedom of a plain Kentish-man. In the mean while, I have let these other gleanings fly abroad, like the Bird out of the Ark, to discover what footing may be for that which shall follow.

FINIS.

the day of a land of the state of the Manga at the west war at the control of the at objects foreveryed days. The state of the state of the state of and the contract of the state o Calmid to the Control of the Control mini perdusi - manage was to the design KE THE TOTAL STATE OF THE SECOND the cide of a first of the control o whole contract and a second second placed was the more and the state of the sta A part sid : printe o Part in Line siret by establish day was by and by and and Le line commence es en ring es allers, and all in the Land of the party of the the work in the state of the state of and the second of the little states of Cold and part is to distribute and open to the particular The being the shall which the spirits had 10 dillo 1, e 14 1000 1 115 115 01

## A Philosophical

# SURVEY

## EDUCATION

OR

Moral Architecture.

BY

HENRY WOTTONKE.

PROVOST

OF

EATON COLLEGE.

# Moral Archivellure BY BY OTTOMICS

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The Fulfill Dedicatory.

I will be one of the fire BHT

## Epiftle Dedicatory

TOTHE

## KING.

May it please your Majesty,



Need no other Motive to dedicate this Difcourse, which followeth, unto your Majefly, than the very Subject it self, so properly pertaining to your Soveraign Goodness: For thereby you are Pater Patrix.

And it is none of the least Attributes wherewith God hath bieffed both Four Royal Person, and Four People, that You are so. On the other side: for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need say more. I am old and childles; and though I were a Father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in Fortune, or in Example. But having long since put forth a slight Pamphlet about the Elements of ARCHITECTURE, which yet hath been entertained with some pardon among my Friends I was encouraged even at this age, to assay how I could build a Man: For there is a Moral, as well as a Natual or Artissicial Compilement, and of better Materials:

als: Which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain Tuscan (as our VITRUVIUS termethis) than in the Corinthian form. Howspever, if Tour Majesty be graciously pleased to approve any part of it, who are so excellent a Judge in all kind of Strocture, I shall much glory in mine own Endeavour. If otherwise, I will be one of the first my selftihat shall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to Rubbage and Ruine. And so wishing Tour Majesty (as to the Best of Kings) a longer Life than any of the soundest Works of Nature or Art, I ever rest

Your Majestie's

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arnabah, sa arih Subuli rasai 1649en. Arih persebuah rayani da sasai Kudal Arih kuliaraka da kerilian Patrin.

Most devoted poor Subjest,

The fuer to vour Maria

and Servant,

WOTTON,



A

## SURVEY

OF

## EDUCATION.

His Treatise (well may it now proceed) having fince the first Conception thereof been often traversed with other thoughts, yea and fometimes utterly forfaken, I have of late refumed again, out of hope (the common flatterer) to find at least fome indulgent interpretation of my pains; especially in an honest Endeavour of such publick consequence as this is above all other. For if any shall think Education (because it is conversant about Children) to be but a private and domestick duty; He will run some danger, in my opinion, to have been ignorantly bred himself. Certain it is, that anciently the best composed Estates did commit this care more to the Magistrate than to the Parent. And certain likewise, That the best Authors have cholen

chosen rather to handle it in their Politicks than in their Oeconomicks. As both Writers and Rulers well knowing what a stream and insluence it hath into Government. So great indeed, and so diffusive, that albeit good Laws have been reputed always the Nerves or Ligaments of humane Society; Yet are they (be it spoken with the peace of those grave Professors) no way comparable in their effects to the Rules of good Nurture: For it is in civil, as it is in natural Plantations, where young tender trees (though subject to the injuries of Air, and in danger even of their own Flexibility) would yet little want any after-underproppings and shoarings, if they were at first well fast-ned in the root.

Now my present labour will (as I foresee)

confift of thefe pieces.

First, there must proceed a way how to discern the Natural Capacities and inclinations of children.

Secondly, Next must ensue the culture and fur-

nishment of the mind.

Thirdly, the moulding of behaviour, and decent forms.

Fourthly, the tempering of affections.

Fifthly, the quickning and exciting of Observa-

tions and practical Judgement.

Sixthly, and the last in order, but the principal in Value, being that which must knit and confolidate all the rest, is the timely instilling of confciencious Principles and seeds of Religion.

These six branches will, as I conceive, embrace the whole business through which I shall run in as many several Chapters or Sections: But before I lanch from the shoars, let me resolve a main question question which may be cast in my way; Whether there be indeed such an infallible efficacy, as I suppose, in the care of Nurture and first Production; For if that supposed should fail us, all our Anchorage were loose, and we should but wander in a wild Sea.

Plutarch, I remember to the same purpose, in the first of his Tractates, which place this subject well deserved, endeavoureth by fundry similitudes, wherein that man had a prompt and luxurious fancv. to shew us the force of Education; All which, in footh, might have been well forborn, had he but known what our own Country-men have of late time disclosed among their Magnetical Experi-There they tell us, that a rod or bar of iron having Rood long in a window, or elfewhere; being thence taken, and by the help of a cork or the like thing, being balanced in water, or in any other liquid substance where it may have a free mobility, will bewray a kind of unquietude and discontentment till it attain the former position. Now it is pretty to note, how in this Natural Theorem is involved a Moral conclusion of difect moment to the point we have in hand.

For if such an unpliant and stubborn mineral as Iron is above any other, will acquire by meer continuance a secret appetite, and (as I may term it) an habitual inclination to the sit held before. Then how much more may we hope, through the very same means, (Education being nothing else but a constant plight and Invenent) to induce by custom good habits into a reasonable creature? And so having a little smooth'd my passage, I may

now go on to the Chapters.



THE

#### FIRST CHAPTER

OR

### SECTION

Touching the Search of Natural Capacities and Inclinations.



F the two thingspropounded in this Chapter, I must begin with Capacinies; For the manurement of Wits is like that of Soils, where before either the pains of Tilling or the charge of Sowing, Men use to consider what the mould will

bear, Heath or Grain. Now this peradventure at the first view, may seem in Children a very slight and obvious enquiry; that age being so open and so free, and yet void of all Art to disguise or dissemble either their appetites, or their defects: Notwithstanding, we see it every day, and every where subject to much error; Partly by a very pardo-

pardonable facility in the Parents themselves, to over-prize their own Children, while they behold them through the vapors of affection which after the appearance; as all things feem bigger in mifty mornings. Nay, even strangers, and the most difinterested persons, are yet, I know not how, commonly inclined to a favourable conceit of little ones: fo cheap a thing it is to bestow nothing but Hope. There is likewise on the other side, as often failing by an Undervaluation; for in divers Children their ingenerate and feminal Powers fas I may term them) lie deep, and are of flow difclofure; no otherwife than in certain Vegetables, which are long before they shoot up and appear, and yet afterwards both of good and great increde; which may ferve to excite care, and to prevent despair in Parents: for if their Child be not fuch a fpeedy spreader and brancher, like the Vine, yet perchance he may prove proles tarde crefcentie Oliva; and yield, though with a little longer experclation, as ufeful, and more fober fruit than the other. And, I must confess, I take some delight in these kind of comparisons; remembring well what I have often heard my truly Noble, and most dear Nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon, fay, out of his exquirfite Contemplations, and Philosophical Practice: That Nature furely (if the be well studied) is the best Moralift, and hath much good Counfel hidden in her bofom.

Now here then will lie the whole buliness, to fet down before-hand certain Signatures of Hopefulness, or Characters, (as I will rather call them, because that Word hath gotten already some entertainment among us) whereby may be timely described what the Child will prove in probability. These

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Charafters must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person, like stamps of Nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his mind; wherein of the former sort,

The first is that which first incurreth into sight; namely, the Child's colour or complexion, (as we vulgarily term it) and thence perchance some judg-

ment of the predominant humour.

The next is the structure, and conformation of

And the third is a certain spirituous resultance from the other two, which makes the countenance.

The fecond kind of these Characters (which are rather mental than personal) be of such variety (because minds are more active than bodies) that I purpose, for the plainest delivery, to resolve all my gatherings, touching both kinds, into a Rapsody of several Observations: For I dare not give them the Authoritative Title of Aphorisms; which yet, when I shall have mustered them, if their own strength be considered rather in troop than singly, as they say, by Pole, may perchance make a reasonable Moral Prognostick,

#### The Observations.

Here are in the course of humane life, from our Cradles upward, certain Periods, or Degrees of change, commonly (as the Ancients have noted) every seven years, whereof the two lift Septemaries, and half of the third, or thereshours, I will call the Obsequious age, apt to imbibe all manner of impressions: which time of the applemess of Obedience is to be plied by Parents,

before the stiffness of Will come on too fast.

There is no Complexion, or Composition in Chiladren, either privileged from bad proof, or prejudiced from good. Always I except prodigious Forms, and meer natural Impotencies, which are unmanageable In toto Genere, and no more to be cultivated than the fands of Arabia.

More ordinary Imperfections and Differtions of the Body in Figure, are so far from excluding all hope, that we usually see them attended with some notable Compensation one way or other, whereof our own time hath produced with us no slight Example in a great Minister of State, and many other.

I am yet willing to grant, that generally in Neture, the best outward shapes are also the likeliest to be consociated with good inward faculities for this Conclusion hath somewhat from the Divine Light's since God himself made this great World (where of Man is the little Model) of such Harmonious Beauty in all the parts, to be the Receptacle of his perfected Greature.

Touching such Conjectures as depend on the Complexions of Children: Albeit I make no quartion but all kind of Wits and Capacities may be found under all Tintlures and Integuments; yet I will particularly describe one or two with some preference, though without prejudice of the rest.

The first shall be a Palish Clearnes, evenly and smoothly spread, not over-thin and washy, but of a pretty solid consistence; from which equal diffribution of the Phlegmatick Humber, which is the proper allay of servent Blood, I am work to hope (where I see it) will slow a suture quietude and serenicude in the Affections, and a discreet sweet-steps and moderation in the Masness; not so quick berefit

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perchance of conceit, as flow to passion; and commonly less inventive, than judicions : Howfoever, for the most part, proving very plausible, infinuant,

and fortunate men.

The other is, the pure languine Melancholick Tin-Gara, wherein I would with five parts of the first to three of the ferond; that so there may be the greater portion of that which must illuminate and darich the Fancy, and yet no fcant of the other. to fix and betermine the Judgement : for furely the right patural definition of a wife Habit, is nothing allembut a plentifulness and promptness in the Store honse of the Mind of clear Imaginations well fixed speed sens than

O. Mercifins Ficinus (the deep Floremine Platonick) increaseth these proportions, requiring eight to two in the foresaid Humours; and withal, adding two more of pure Choler: But of that I shall fpeak more smong the inward Motions, purposely here hebearing att where it only contemplate the fuper-

ficial Appearance.

In the outward frame and fabrick of the Body, which is the next object after Complexion. An erect and forward stature, a large break, neat and pliant joynts, and the like, may be good fignificants of health, of strength, or agility, but are very foreign Arguments of Wit: I will therefore only fay fomewhat of the Head and Eve, as far as may conduce to my present scope.

The Head in a Child I wish great and round, which is the capablest Figure, and the freest from all restraint and compression of the parts : For since in the Section of Bodies, we find Man, of all fenfible Creatures, to have the fullest Brain to his proportion, and that it was fo provided by the Su-- 2:00

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preme Wisdom, for the lodging of the line lective Faculties: It must needs be a filent Character of Hope, when, in the Oer momical Providence of Nature, (as I may term it) there is good store of roomage and receipt where those Powers are stowed : As commonly we may think Husbanding men to forefee their own Plenty, who prepare before-hand large Barns and Garnaries. Yet Thucydides funciently one of the excellentest Wits in the definedst part of the World) feems ( if Marcellinus in histite have well described him )to have been somewhat Toper-headed. as many of the Genontfernare at this day in common Observation, who yet be a People of fingular Sagacity : yea, I call not impertinently to mind, that one of my time in Venice, had Wirehough to become the Civil Head of that grave Republick who vet for the littleness of his own natural Heady was firnamed Il Donato Teffolina. But the Obtrusion of fuch particular Inftances as thefe, are unfufficient to dif. authorize a Note grounded mpon the final intention decience (none of the meanest Cross of Nature.

The Eye in Children (which commonly let them rowl at pleasure) is of curious observation, especially in point of discovery: For it hoveth, or hateth, before we can discount he heart; it confenteth, or denieth, before the tongue of resolveth, or runneth away before the songue of resolveth, or runneth away before the seet may we shall often mark in it a dulness, or apprehensiveness, even before the understanding. In short, it betrayeth in a manner the whole state of the Mind, and letteth out all our fancies and passions as it were by a window. I shall therefore require in that Organ, without Poetical Conceits, (as far as may concern my purpose, be the colour what it will) only a settled vivacity, nor wandring, nor stupid;

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yet, I mast confess, I have known a number of dul-

fighted, very sharp-witted men.

The truth is, that if in these external mark, or signatures, there be any certainty, it must be taken from that which I have formerly called, The total Resultance. By which, what I mean, I shall more properly explain in the third Section, when I come to handle the general air of the Person and Carriage. I will now hasten to those more solid and conclusive Characters, which, as I have said, are emergent from the Mind; and which often-times do start out of Children when themselves least think of it: for, let me tell you, Nature is Proditoriom.

And first I must begin with a strange Note: That a Child will have Tantum ingenis quantum ira; That is, in my construction, as much wit as he hath way-wardness. This Rule we have cited by

\* Caprio. a very \* Learned man, fomewhere out of Senera, and exemplified by Angelsu Policiansu (none of the meaneft Criticks) who writing the life of Pietro de Medici, concludeth, That he was likely to prove a Wife man, because he was a froward Boy. Truly, I have been many times tempted to wonder, notwithstanding the value of these Authors, How so disordinate a Passion seated in the

wonder, notwithstanding the value of these Authors, How so disordinate a Passion seated in the Heart, and boyling in the Blood, could betoken a good constitution of the Brain, which, above any other, is, or should be, the coldest part: But because all sudden motions must necessarily imply a quick apprehension of the first stirring cause, and that the dullest of other creatures are the latest offended, I am content for the present to yield it some credit.

We have another, fomewhat of the fame mould,

from Quintilian, (whom I have ever thought, fince any use of my poor judgment, both the elegantest and soundest of all the Roman Pens) That a Child will have Tamum ingenti, quantum memoria: This, I must confess, will bear a stronger Consequence of Hope; for Memory is not only considerable as it is in it self a good Retention, but likewise as it is an infallible Argument of good Attention; a point of no small value in that Age, which a fair Orange or

a red Apple will divert.

There is yet another in the fame Writer, and in the same place, where he handleth this very Theme. How to descry Capacities: That Parents should mark, whether their Children be naturally apt to imitate; wherewith certainly all fine fancies are caught, and some little less than ravished. And we have a Tradition of Quintilian himself, that when he faw any well-expressed Image of grief, either in Picture, or Sculpeure, he would usually weep: For, being a Teacher of Oratory in School, he was perhaps affected with a passionate Piece of Art, as with a kind of mute Eloquence. True it is indeed, which a great Mafter hath long before taught Aristorle in us, That Man is of all Creatures the Rhetoricis. most Mimical, as a kind of near adjunct to Reason: Arguing necessarily in those that can do it weil, whether it be in Gestures, in Styles, in Speech, in Fashion, in Accents, or howsoever, no shallow Impression of Similitudes and Differences; about which, in effect, is conversant the whole Wildom of the World.

Besides these, I would wish Parents to mark heedfully the witty Excuses of their Children, especially at Suddains and Surprizals; but rather to mark than pamper them, for that were other-

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wife to cherish untruth : whereof I shall speak more

in the Final Section.

Again are to be observed not only his own crafty and pertinent Evasions, but likewise with what kind of Jests, or pleasant Accidents he is most taken in others; which will discover the very degree of his apprehension, and even reach as far as to the centuring of the whole Nations, whether they be slat and dull, or of quick capacity: For surely, we have argument enough at this day to conclude, the Ancient Grecians an Ingenious People; of whom the Valgar fort, such as were haunters of Theaters, took pleasure in the Conceits of Aristophanes; reserving my judgment to other place upon the filthy Obsernities of that and other Authors, well arguing among Christians, when all is said, that the Devil is one of the wittiest.

Again, it shall be fit to note, how prettily the Child himself doth manage his pretty Pastines: This may well become an ordinary Parent, to which so great an Emperor as Augustu descended in the highest of his State, and gravest of his Age, who collected (as Sueconius tells us) out of all the known World, especially from the Syrians and Moors, (where, by the way, we may note, who were then reputed the sharpest Nations) little Boys of the rarest Festivity, to play before him at their ordinary Sports. And indeed there is much to be noted, worthy of a fadder judgment in the Wiliness of that Age.

Again, I would have noted in Children, not only their Articulate Answers, but likewise certain smiles and frowns upon incident Occasions; which though they be dumb and light passions, will discover much of that inward power which moveth

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them; especially when withal they lighten of cloud

Lastly, let not his very Dreams be neglected; for, without question, there is a great Analogy between those Apprehensions which he hath taken by day into his Fancy, and his nocturnal Impressions; particularly in that Age, which is not yet troubled with the summer and cares of the World; so as the Soul hath a freer and more descated Operation: And this is enough for the disclosing of a good Capacity in the popular way which I have followed,

because the Subject is general.

Now for the second Part of this Chapter, touching Inclinations: for after we know how far a Child is capable, the next will be to know unto what course he is naturally most inclined. There must go before a main research, whether the Child that I am to manage, be of a good nature or no; as the same term is vulgarly taken, for an ingenious and tractable disposition: which being a sundamental Point, and the first root of all vertuous Actions, and though round about in every Mothers mouth, yet athing which will need very nice and narrow Observation: I have spent some diligence in collecting certain private Notes, which may direct this Inquiry.

First, therefore, when I mark in Children much solitude and silence, I like it not, nor any thing born before his time, as this must needs be in that sociable and exposed Age, as they are for the most part. When either alone, or in company, they sit still without doing of any thing, I like it worse; for surely all dispositions to Idleness, or Vacancy, even before they grow habits, are dangerous. & there is commonly but a little distance in time between doing of nothing, and doing of ill.

# ARTHUR AR

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# APHORISMS EDUCATION.

Time is the plainest Legend, and every day a leaf is turned.

F we look abroad, we shall see many proceed yearly out of the Schools of Experience, whereas sew, in comparison, are commended unto Degrees by maindeed the multistude of those Schools insintely exceeding our numbers; but especially because the means which they follow are far more obvious and easie. Libraries and Lectures prossing none, but such as bring some measure of understanding with them; but the Occurrents of the World being easily entertained by the weakest capacities, assisted only with common sense: neither therefore is this Legend of time to be contemned by those whose Wits are more pregnant, or Studies surnished with greatest choice. The Students of Common Law manifest the benefit arising from the use thereof; who as by reading their Tear Books they re-

cover the Experience by former Ages : so by daily repair to the Courts of Justice, they suffer nothing of the present to pass unobserved. And I note, That whereas foreign Universities (in conferring Degrees) regard meerly the performance of some solemn exercise : ours further require a certain expence of time, supposing (as I conteive) that bowfoever exercise of form may be deceitfully dispatched of course : yet that he who lives some space among the assiduous advantages and belps of Knowledge, (except he be of the Society of the Antipodes, who turn right into day, and take no notice of what is done) cannot chuse but receive so much upon ordinary observation, as may make him Master of Some Art; which frequent opportunities, as they happily add fomething to those who are but idle lookers on, fo, no doubt, they must advance perfection in those who are more studiously observantievery day presenting their Judgments with matters examinable by the Precepts they read, and most producing to their inventions, occurrents fit for further inquiry.

Every Nature is not a fit Stock to graft a Scho-

The Spaniard (that wrote the Trial of Wits) undertakes to shew what Complexion is sit for every Profession. I will not disable any for proving a Scholar; nor yet
dissemble that I have seen many happily forced upon that
course, to which by nature they seemed much indisposed.
Sometimes the possibility of preferment prevailing with the
credulous, expectation of less expence with the covetous,
opinion of ease with the fond, and assurance of remoteness
with the unkind Parents, have moved them, without discretion, to engage their children in adventures of Learning, by
whose return they have received but small contentment:

Rus they who are deceived in their first designs, deserve less to be condemned as such who (after sufficient trial) persist in their wilfulness are no way to be pitied. I have known some who have been acquainted (by the complaints of Governors, clamors of Creditors, and confessions of their Sons) what might be expected from them, yet have held them in with strong hand, till they have desperately quit, or disgracefully sorfeited the places where they lived. Deprived of which, they might hope to avoid some misery, if their Friends, who were so careful to bestow them in a College when they were young, nould be so good as to provide a room for them in some Hospital when they are old.

He feldom speeds well in his course, that stumbles at his setting forth.

Have ever been unwilling to hear, and careful not to neter predictions of ill success; Oracles proceeding as well from Superstitious ignorance, as curious Learning: and what I deliver in thefe words, occasioned by examples past, I desire may be applied for prevention rather than prejudice to any hereafter. To the same effect I heard a discreet Cenfor lesson a young Scholar, negligent at his first entrance to the Elements of Logick and Philosophy, telling him. That a Child starved at nurse, would hardly prove an able man. And I have known some who attended with much expectation at their first appearing have stained the Maidenbead of their Credit with some negligent performanice, fall into irrecoverable di fike with others, and hardly escape despair of themselves. They may make a better excuse, but not hope for more favour, who can impute the fault of their inauspicious attempts somewhere else; a circumstance necessarily to be considered where punishment is inflicted: but where remard is proposed for worth it is as usually

usually detained from those who could not, as from those who cared not to deserve it.

The way to Knowledge by Epitomies is too fireight, by Commentaries too much about.

T is sufferable in any to use what liberty they lift in their own manuer of Writing, but the contracting and extending the lines and sense of others, if the first Authors might speak for themselves, would appear a thankless office; and if the Readers did confer with the Originals, they would confess they were not throughly or rightly informed. \* Epitomies are helpful to the memory, and of good private use, but fer forth for publick Monuments, accuse the industrious Writers of delivering much impersinency, and divert many to close and shallow Cisterns, whose leisure might well be acquainted with more deep and open springs. In brief, what I heard somerimes. Spoken of Ramus, I believe of those thrifty Compendiums; They shew a short course to those who are contented to know a listle, and a sure way to such whose care is not to understand much. Commentaries are guilty of the contrary extreme, stifling the Text with infinite additions, and serewing those conceits from the words, which, if the Authors were fer on the Rack, they would never acknowledge. He who is difereet in bestoming his pains; will suspect those places to be defert and barren, where the way cannot be found without a guide; and leave curiosity in enquest of obscurities, which, before is, receive content, dorb tofe or tire it felf with digreffions.

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felle der eige gemernige erneren berei

Discretion is the most universal Art, and hath more Profesors than Students.

Discretion, as I understand it, consists in the useful knowledge of what is six and comelyzof necessary direction in the practice of moral duties, but most esteemed in the composing and framing civil behaviour: men ordinarily being better content to be dishonest, than to be conscious to themselves that they are unmannerly. Few study it, because it is attained rather by a natural felicity, than by any indeavour or pains; and many profess it, presuming on sufficiency to censure others: and as unable to discern themselves, concerning their own defects, as unaccustomed to be rightly informed. It little concerns men indifferent what we do in that kind; and our friends are either nothing offended therewith, or unwilling to offend us with their relation: our enemies seldom speak of it in our bearing; and when we hear, we at hardly believe them.

They who travel far, easily miss their way.

T Ravel is reputed a proper means to create men wife, and a possible to make them bonest, because it forces eircumspectness on those abroad, who at home are nursed in security; and perswadeth good behaviour and temperance to such, who (far from friends and means) are willing to have little to do with the Lawyer or Physician. Men coming into other Countries, as if born into a strange world, with some discretion above them, which teacheth both to distrust others, and keep themselves sober; and to shift off those homely fashions which Nature and Custom in their years of simplicity had put on them. But these effects are not general, many receiving more good in their Bodies

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Bodies by the tossing of the Ship, whilst they are at Sea, than benefit in their Minds by breathing in a foreign Air, when they come to Land. Tet they are at desirons men should observe they have travelled, at careful in their travels to observe nothing, and therefore if they be not able to make it known by their relation and discourse, it shall appear by their cloths and gesture: Some attain to greater perfection, being able to show at what charge they have seen other places, by their excellency in some other rare vices, or irregularity in strange opinions. As the times are be is commended that makes a saving Voyage, and least discredits his Travels, who returns the same man be went.

Somewhat of the Gentleman gives a tincture to a Scholar, too much stains him.

I E who advised the Philosopher (altogether devoted to the Muses) sometimes to offer Sacrifice at the Altars of the Graces, shought Knowledg to be imperfect wishout Behaviour, which experience confirms, able to shew, that the want thereof breeds as much difrespect to many Scholars with the Observers of Ceremonies, as improper affectation moves distaste in some substantial judgments. Indeed flovenliness is the worst sign of a hard Student, and civility the best exercise of the remissiyet not to be exact in the phrase of Complement, or gestures of Courtesse, the indifferent do pardon to those who have been otherwise bufied; and rather deride, than appland such, who think it perfection enough to have a good out side, and happines to be seen amongst those who have better; pleasing them-selves more in opinion of some proficiency, in terms of hunting or horsemanship, which few that are studious understand, then they blush to be known ignorant in that which every man oughs to know: To which vanisy I have known

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none more enclined chan those whose birth did neither require nor fortunes encourage them to such costly idleness; who at length made sensible by necessity, haply have the grace to repent, but seldom times the gift to recover.

Books and Friends are better received by weight

He necessities of Life do warrant multitude of Employments, and the variety of Nature's excuse the diversity of delights: but to my discretion that course feems most desirable, whose business occasions no turther trouble, nor teifure requires other Recreations than may indifferently be entersained with Books and Friends. They are indeed happy who meet with fuch whom they may trust in both kinds; and undoubtedly wife, that can well apply them : the imperfect apprehension and misuse never producing any good effect: For fo me fee capacious understandings (by communal inquiry and perusal of all sores of Authors) thrive no better in their knowledge shan some men of good disposuron (addicted generally to auguaintence) are gainers by the reckoning, when they cast up. their expence of time; the hunger of the one breedesh a Consumption, and the others thirst not determining but by Some humorous Discase : nay, they who seem to respect choice, Sometimes err pernicionsly: Which the Frenchman observed, who maintained his Country was much the norse by old mens studying the venom of Policy, and young mens reading the dregs of Fancy. And is manifest that in our little Commonwealth of Learning, much disparagement is occasioned, when able Spirits (aurasted by familiarity) are inflamed with Faction, and good Natures (carried away with the fream of more pleasant company) are drowned in good Follow hip: Love

Love that observes Formality is seated rather in the Brain, than in the Heart.

cones inchestes an Obligation upon Lublick

B' formality, I mean something more than Ceremony and Complement (which are the gestare and phrase of dissemblers,) even a solemn reservedness, which may well consist with bonesty: not but that I admire a constant gravity, which upon no assurance will bewray the least imperfection to any: but consess, I have far from suspecting simplicity, which (careful to observe more real duties towards all) is bold to trespass in points of Decount amongs some, which without blassing could not be consest to others. A sign, from whence the greatest Reasoner draws an Argument of good affection, which (as divine Charity covers many offences) is the experience of common humanity is content to dispence with And although Policy shews is to be the safest course to give advantage to none, yet an ingenuous nature thinks that he is scarce able to diskinguish between an enemy and a friend, that stands wholly upon his own guard.

An Enemy is better recovered by great kindness, than a Friend affured.

There are some reliques of goodness found even in the worst natures, and out of question seeds of evil in those who are esteemed best; whence it may appear less strange, that hearts possess with rancour and malice, are overcome with henesicence, and minds otherwise well qualified, prove sometimes ungrateful; the one fore's to confess satisfaction received far more than was due, the other to atknowledge a debt of greater value than they are able to pay & how soever, smaller courtesses seem not visible, are at

great ones inducing an Obligation upon Publick Re-

The fincerest Liberality consists in resuling, and the most innocent Thrist in saving.

The bestowing of gifes is more glorious than the refufing of bribes; because gifts are commonly delivered in publick, whereas men use not to confess what they owe, or offer-what they ought not, before witnesses. But in true estimation, it is as honourable a vertue not to receive, as to disperse benefits; it being of greater merit whosly to abstain from things desirable, than after fruition to be content to leave them; as they who magnifes single life, prefer Virginity much before Widowhood. Tet some (in whom this kind of bounty is sittle observed) are unworthisy censur'd for keeping their own, whom tenderness how to get bonessly teacheth to spend discreetly; whereas such need no great thristiness in preserving their own, who assume more liberty in exacting from others.

Commendations proceeding from Subtilty, captive the Object; from Simplicity, the Author.

There is a skill to purchase, and pay debts only with fair words, drawing on good offices, and requising them with Commendations, the felicity whereof hash made Flattery the most familiar Rhetorick, a leaving the old method of Perswassion, by insinuating the worth of him who desires to receive; and with more ease raising a self conceit in the man who is apt to swallow such light Bribery, and not often indisposed to dizest unthankfulness so curiously seasoned. But it is no great inconvenience that kindness

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ness should be bestowed gratis, or upon cheap conditions; the less is, when men of plain meaning adventure on the exchange and use of this coyn, who, forward to profess their belief, ingage the credit of their wisdom on the behaviour of such, whose actions are not within their power, and become bound in Suretiship, without the help of a Scrivener: which inconsider at affection makes many carriest Speakers in defence of injuries done to others, and silent Patients of wrongs unexpectedly befalling themselves; desire to make good their error, pressing their tongues to so unjust service; or care to dissemble it, debarring them from the general liberty of poor compliant.

Expectation prepareth applause with the weak, and prejudice with the stronger Judgments.

The fashion of commending our friends abilities before they come to trial, sometimes takes good effect with the common sort, who, building their belief on Authority, strive to follow the conceit of their betters; but usually amongst men of independent judaments, this bespeaking of opinion, breeds a purpose of stricter examination; and if the report be answered, procures only a bare acknowledgment; whereas if nothing be proclaimed or promised, they are perhaps content to signific their own skill in telissing another's desert: otherwise great wits, jealous of their credit, are ready to suppress worth in others; to the advancing of their own, and (if more ingenuous) no farther just, than to forbear destraction; at the best rather disposed to give praise upon their own accord, than to make payment upon demand or challenge.

The tellimony of sufficiency is better entertained, than the report of Excellency.

The nature of some places necessarily requires men competently endowed, but where there is choice, none think the appointment to be a duty of Justice bound to respect the best desert: nay, the best conceive it a work of free bounty, which men of mean qualities are likely to acknowledge, and the worldly make it a business of prosit, anto which the most deserving are least apt to subscribe. But besides these unlucky insuences from above, this cross success may be occasioned either by the too great considence of those who hope to rise, or the jealow distrust of such as are already raised, whilest they too much presuming on their own desert, neglect all auxiliary strength, these suspecting some diminution to their own, stop the passage of anothers worth; that being most certain, Alterius vistuit invidet, qui dissidit sux.

He that appears often in the same place, gets little ground in the way to credit.

Amiliar and frequent use, which makes things (at first ungrateful) by continuance pleasing or tolerable, takes away the lustre from more excellent objects, and reduceth them from the height of admiration, to the low degrees of neglect, dislike, and consempt; which were not strange, if it wrought only among the Valgar, whose opinion (like their Stomachs) is overcome with satiety, or men of something a higher stage, the edge of whose sight is absted and dusted by long gazing; but the same entertainment is given by the Judicious and Learned, either because they observe some defects, which at sufficient

fight are lefs visible; or the Altors in this kind betray weakness in their latter attempts, usually straining so high at first, that they are not able to reach again in the rest; or by this often obtrusion not required, discover a good conceit of their own Graces; and men so well affected to themselves are generally so happy, as to have little canse to complain of Corrivals.

The Active man rifeth not so well by his strength, as the expert by his stirrop.

They that climb towards preferment or greatness by their own vertue, get up with much ado and very slowly; whereas such as are raised by other means, usually ascend lightly and appear more happy in their sudden advancements, sometimes by the only, strength of those who stand above, exercising their power in their dependants commonly by subordinate helps and assistance, which young men happily obtain from the commendations of friends, old men often compass by the credit of their wealth, who have a great advantage in that they are best able to purchase, and likely soonest to leave the room.

Few men thrive by one onely Art, fewer by many.

A Mongst Tradesmen of meaner sort, they are not provest, whose Shop windows open over a red Lettice; and the wealthiest Merchants imploy Scriveners for security at home, as much as Factors for their advantage abroad, both finding not more warrantable gains by negotiating with the industrious, than prostable returns by dealing with unthrists. The disposition of the time, hath I 3

taught this wisdom to more ingenuous professions, which are best entertained when they come accompanied with some other respects, whence preciseness is become a good habit to plead in, and Papistry a privy commendation to the Practice of Physick, contentious Zeal making most Clients, and sensual Superstition yielding the best Patients. They who are intent by diverse means to make progress in their estate, contot succeed well, as he that would run upon his hand and feet makes less speed than one who goes at nature taught him; the untoward moving of some unskilful parts, hindring the going forward of those which are better disposed.

It is good to profess betimes, and practise at leisure.

Here is a saying. That the best choice is of an old Physician and a young Lawyer: The reason sold Physician and a young Lawyer: The reason sold Physician and a young Lawyer: The reason sold Physician and woder where errors are fatal, ability of judgment and moderation are required; but where advantages may be wronght upon, diligence and quickness of wit are of more special use. But if it be considered who are generally most esteemed, it will appear, that opinion of the multitude sets up the one, and the favour of Authority usholds the other; yet in truth, a mans age and time are of necessary regard, such of themselves succeeding best, who in these or any other professions, neither defer their resolution too long, nor begin their practice too soon; whereas or dinarily, they who are immaturely adventurous by their insufficiency hart others; they who are redicus in deliberation, by some improvidence hinder themselves.

Felicity shews the ground where Industry builds a Fortune.

Rchimedes the great Engineer (who in defending A Syracusa against Marcellus, shened wonderful Experiments of bis extraordinary skill,) was bold to fay, That he would remove the world out of his place, if he had elsewhere to set his foot. And truly I believe fo far that otherwife be could not do it : I am fure, fo much is evident in the Architecture of Fortunes ; in the ralfing of which the best Art or endeadour is able to do nothing, if it have not where to lay the first stone; for it is possible with the like Skill to raise a frame when we have matter; but not to create formething out of nothing : the first being the ordinary effect of industry, this only of Divine Power. Indeed, many from very mean beginnings bave affired to very eminent place, and we ufually ascribe it to their own worth, which no doubt in some is great; yet as in Religion we are bound to believe, fo in trub the best of them will confess, that the first advantage was reached out meerly by a Diving hand, which also no doubt, did always affift their after endeavours. Some have the felicity to be born Heirs to good Estates, others to be made so beyond their ho; es. Marriage (besides the good which oftentimes it confers directly) collaterally Sometimes helps to Offices, Sometimes to Benefices, Sometimes to Dignities. Many rife by relation and dependance, it being a happy flep to some, to have fallen on a fortunate Mafter, to some on a foolish, to some (few) on a good. There are divers other means, of which, as of thefe, I am not fo fit to speak, but truly considered, they are all out of our own power, which be that prefumeth most, cannot promise himself; and he that expests leaft, fomerimes attains, ort

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### CONCEIPT

OF SOME

#### OBSERVATIONS

INTENDED

Upon Things most Remarkable in the Civil History of this Kingdom; and likewise in the State of the Church.

From the NORMAN Invasion, till the Twelsth lear of our Vertuous SOVEREIGN,

#### CHARLES

The FIRST,

Whom God have in his precious Custody.

#### Of WILLIAM the First.

ILLIAM rhe First was a Child of Fortune from his Cradle. We do commonly and justly stile him, The Conqueror For he made a general Conquest of the whole Kingdom and People either by Composition or Arms. And he

fuppressed in great part the former Customs and Laws, and introduced new Behaviours and Habits; which under shew of Civility, were in effect but Rudiments of Subjection. Lastly, he was near the imposing, and (as I may term it) the Naturalizing here of his own Language: At least, he both made it and lest it Currant in all Courts of Plea; whereof is yet remaining no small impression.

Besides his Atchievements by Force, I note a great Secret of State silently wrapped in his high Tenures of Knight Service. For, those drawing as well Marriage as Wardship, gave him both power and occasion to Conjugate at pleasure the Norman Houses, which by degrees might prove a second Conquest of Affections, harder than

the first.

Rarely had been feen for such a Prize, an evener Trial by Battel than that at Hastings: Both Commanders well acquainted before with Adventures and Peril: Both animated and edged with Victories. In their Numbers (through confused Report) I can collect no enormous disparity. In their Persons equally valiant. And for any Right or Merit in the Canse, no difference but this: That either the One must keep a Kingdom ill gotten, or the Other get it as ill.

What were the main Errors, and what principally gave the Day, so long after, is hard to affirm. Well we may conclude, that on either side the Fight was constant and sierce; and surely undeterminable without the death, at least, of one of the Chiefs. For the English would not run away, and the Normans could not.

After this Success, His not Marching immediate-

ly to the Head-Cit, when Terror would have fwept the ground before him: but Casting about (for io the most have delivered) more like a Progress than a pursuit, as if one single Battel had given him leave to play with his Fortune, may seem strange; according to the Maxims of War at this Day: But, let all Discourse cease. States have their Conversions and Periods as well as Natural Bodies, and we were come to our Tropique.

In his farther Proceedings I note him fometimes most helped, and another while most hindred by the Clergy, than of mighty perswasion with the Temporal Lords and People: which taught afterwards a Lesson when he was fast in the Throne, how to Rivet his own Greatness, by Changing the Natives into Normans, or other Aliens of his proper choice, in the Highest Ecclesiastical

Dignities.

Then was Stigand the Metropolitan, in a Synod formally and fairly Deposed, being too stiff for the times: Which was indeed the wringing Point,

though other Objections made more noise.

He was Crowned on Christmas Day, in the year of our Saviour 1066. At which Time he would fain have Compounded a Civil Title of, I know not what, Alliance or Adoption, or rather Donation from Edward the Confessor: As if Hereditary Kingdoms did pass like New-years gifts: The truth is, He was the Heir of his Sword. Yet from those Pretences howsoever, there sprang this good, That he was thereby in a fort engaged to cast his Government into a middle or mixed nature, as it were between a lawful Successor, and an invader; though generally, (as allnew Empires do savour much of their beginnings)

it had more of the Violent than of the Legal.

One of the first Things in his Intent, but in effect one of the last, was the perfecting of that which we call the Winchester Book: being a more particular inquisition than had been before, of every Hide of Land within the precincts of his Conquest, and how they were holden; whenceforth we may account a full Re settlement of Lordship and Propriety through the Realm. Quere (for I find it observe) whether Possessions, for the most part, had not remained all the while before, in a kind of Marrial Disposure, or perchance little better.

We have at this day more knowledge of whom he doubted, than of whom he trusted, ( which I believe were very few. ) Certainly, his Reign must needs be full of strong apprehensions, and his nature was prone enough to entertain them, as may well appear by the event, in two Personages of all other the likeliest to sit fast about him namely, Firz Aubert, alias Firz Osbern, ( for he is diversly termed) and Odo, one of his own Brothers by the same Womb. These two had each of them contributed towards his Enterprise about Forty Ships apiece, and were the first foundation of his Fortunes, both in Strength, and in Example. But what became of them? Marry, after they had been dignified here with Earldoms, the one of Hereford, the other of Kent; Fitz Offen (as some report) was executed under him: Or ( as the most) was discarded into a Foreign Service. for a pretty shadow of Exilement. And Odo his Brother was a Prisoner even at the time of his own death : So heavy with some high minds is an overweight of Obligation: Or otherwise, great Defervers

fervers do perchance grow intolerable Presumers. Or lastly, Those that help to Raise, stand ever in some hazard to be thought likewise the fittest to Depress. I have been sometimes tempted to wonder, how among these Jealousies of State and Court, Edgar Arbeling could subsist, being then the Apparent and Indubitate Heir of the Saxon Line. But he had tryed and found him a Prince of limber vertues: So as though he might peradventure have some Place in his Caution, yet he reckoned Him beneath his Fear.

He was contemporal with three Popes, Villor, and Alexander the second of that Name, and Hildsbrand, alias Gregory the Seventh. Victor took the first hold of him, by Ratifying his Nuptial Contract within the Degrees forbidden ( which is none of the least Arts in the Roman Hierarchy, for the Chaining of Princes and their Islue to a perpetual Dependance.) Alexander drave it somewhat further, by lending his Banner to this Invasion: As they have been always frank of their Bleffings to Countenance any Great action: and then (according as it should prosper) to Tissue upon it some Pretence or other. As, here first of all came in a Challenge of Homage, forfooth, by Promife: which though the Conqueror ever eagerly disavowed; Yet, I know not how, by the cunning Incroachments of Hildebrand (that famous Incruder) who succeeded, He did abase and avale the Soveraignty into more Servitude towards that See, (as our Authors charge his Time) than had been fince the name of a State or a Church among us.

Now for the Conflitution and Character of his Person and Mind: He was not of any delicate Contexture : His Limbs rather sturdy than dainty Sublime and almost Tumorous in his Looks and Gestures : yea, even in His Oaths ; for they fay, He used to swear By the Reservection of the Son of God. By nature far from Profusion, and yet a greater Sparer than a Saver; For though he had fuch means to accumulate, yet His Forts, Caftles, and Towers which he built, and his Garrisons which he maintained, and his Featings (wherein he was only Sumptuous) could not but foak His Exchequer. Besides, the multiplicity of Rewards which hang upon fuch Acquests; And likewife certain fecret wafte Pipes of Espials through the Realm, no less chargeable, than Necellary for new Beginners. But above all, I must nove the Popes Legates and Dreyners, which began here to be frequent in His Time; and are no where cheap.

One strange and excellent Fame doth follow Him: That the Land had never been before so free from Robberies and Depredations, as through His Reign; scarce Credible in such a Broken and Ruffling Time, if it were not so constantly delivered. But, it should seem, That to ingratiate himself with the vulgar (with whom there is nothing more popular than Security) He made it a Master-piece of his Regiment. And perchance Action had presty well evacuated the idle people; which are the

flock of Rapine.

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His Wife, the Lady Magdalena, brought him four Sons, and fix Daughters; And (besides her natural Fertility) we may almost account her pregnant of a Conquest: For, her father Earl Bildwin of Flanders had then the French King in Tutelage: So as (no doubt) by her Mediation he

drew a great Concurrence from that Kingdom, and the adjacent Provinces. For these Reasons He loved her well: And I find his life little tainted with extravagant Lust; for, his Pleasures were more of the Field, than of the Chamber. Yet, he had one Illegitimate Child (to keep it in fashion) namely, Pruerel, Lord of Nottingham

and Derby.

He left the Succession to his second Son, not because he bare his Name (though that perhaps might have been some Motive:) nor because he thought him the best timbred to support it: But Robert his eldest, having openly Rebelled against him; and having (as they write) at a casual Incounter given him his Life (which was too great a Gift to be either forgotten or acknowledged) he had reason to preser the more obsequious Child. And I think, we shall need to seek no surface.

As for Henry his third Son, albeit he was born after his Father was a King; and the two former were but the Issue of a Duke of Normandy; so as by some ancient Examples (if Examples could carry Diadems) he might, and perchance did expect the Crown; yet, He left him (by our best Relations) but a bare Legacy of Five thousand Pounds. Note the sober measure of that Age, when it was a King's younger Sons Portion, which is now scant an Aldermans: So much is either Wealth increased, or Moderation decayed.

But let me Conclude my Notes upon the Heroical Champion. He died not in his Acquisitive, but in his Native Soil: Nature her felf as it were claiming a final Interest in his Body, when Fortune had done with Him. But one thing fell out? to disquiet his Obsequies, That the Place where he should be laid, was put in Suit, as having formerly in the Time of his Power been wrested from the true Owner; which a while suspended his Interment, and became a Declamatory Theme among the Religious Men of that Age; That so Great a Conquerour of Foreign Lands should at length want Earth at Home to cover Him.

But it was the last of his worldly Felicities, that for the better Establishment of His Heir, he survived his own Victory twenty Years, eight Months, and sixteen Days. For, Tempus concoquis omnia.

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## HENRICI VI. Anglia & Galliarum Regis, Hibernia Domini, Econopis ad Tamefin Collegii Conditoris, Vita & Excelliu.

Scriptore HE NRICQ WOTTONIO Anglo-Cantiano ejustem Collegii Prefector



Nter honestam requiem quam Etonense Collegium Vergentibiu jam Annis nostris indulget, Subinde me invasit hac Cogitatio: Hand multum distare silentes à Defunctis. Quippe, quid interest nos termines fatalis Dies, an prastinguar snerisa? Unde reputanti mecum quid aggre-

derer, non ingratum omnino videbatur prasentis otis pretium fore, si Regis HENRICI VI. Vitam (cujus benifica Pietate fovemur) è sunctioribus memoriis expromerem à primo fere vagitu ad extremum usque Diem; quo innocentius quidem quam selicius, Imperium clausit. Quod si obscuriora jampridem amplexus Studia Magmorum Nominum Gloria qua sub Calamum cadent minus satisfecerim. At interea quodeunque suturum sit, pro diversiculo saltem valeat ad saltendam Canisiem qua imdies obrepit.

Age ergo, revolvamus varios humanorum Casuum Fluttus & Procellas. En mirum sub Rege maxime omnium quiesis avido, surbulensissime Scenæ Spectaculum:

Ééque

Ecque tristiori exitu, quo blandioribus inisiis, ut nulla Optimo principi defuisse videatur, aut Indentis Foruma aut sevientis, Calamitas. Sed in ipso simine parcendum publico Mærori. Paulisper indesteti jaceant tot sortium virorum, tot illustrium Familiarum Cineres. Ne, ut plerique Scribentium, pomposo nimis genitu, conceptum opus pragravarem. Teque potius (Serenissime CAROLE Rex & Domine) Justi tenax, verique patiens, & cujus mores non minus quam leges cunita temperant: Te, inquam, veterum risu ante Exorsum compellare liceat, ut his conatibas benigna fronte adesse velis, Dum priorum jam longe temperum Erumnas (quas divinum Numen sopivit) liberius quam facunde

per agam.

Lancastrii Stemmatis MAJESTAS (quoquo modo parta) per duorum Dominantium virtutes pariter & successus occaperat paulatim valescere. De Henrici Quarti primordiis jam circumquaque Silentium: Aut ob testa murmura comprimente ( ut solet ) Vulgi veces lato hactenus domi forisque Fortuna afflatu. At neque Nobilium videbantur inquieta Consilia, quorum ferocior Pars aperto Marte aut conjurationibus exhaufti, Melliores Tempori serviebant. Quin & quadam subfulsit futura securitatis Fiducia. Quippe viginti jam trium Annorum dilapsu (tot enim a primi Lancastrii Imperio ad insequentis Obitum interfluxerant) Wallia post Oweni Glendori miserrimos Impetus, sub Henrico Quarto Composita, Scotiaque Confinio per Henrici quinti Solertiam contra subitos incursus satis provide manito; si quid hic for san adbuc Turbidi, fi quid Infidi des geretur, promptum erat alior sum transfundere, o interna Suspicionum in Galliam velut exantlare, quo tum Tempestas incubuit.

In boc fratu Rerum Henricus Quintus post Victoriam in Gallos ad Agennicuriam (omnis Avi Memoria il-

lustrem) ingravescente Morbo, quin fortè inter bellandi Sudores contraxerat, sit Saeuli Fulmen, & brevi (proh nimium!) Atate, Glorie Satur, concessit Fatis, relieto vix quadrimestri Filiolo.

Hic est ille HENRICUS Sextus, cujus Tempora in prasens meditamur, tot sortis Humana Documentis inclyta, quot ulla usquam Ætas in unum congessit.

Sed antequam ulterius processerim, non incongruum reor paucis aperire, Qualis tum esset Christiani Orbis Facies, Quanam apud nos Externorum Motuum, Qua Civilium Origo, Quantum Anglorum Arma tum soras obtinuerint, quid intro sperandum, quidve timendum suerit.

Defunt cætera.



King Charles the : I



# REGEM

SCOTIA

REDUCEM

HENRICI WOTTONII

PLAUSUS ET VOTA.

M DC XXXIII.



## CORNUBIÆ DUCI,

CESTRIÆ COMITI, &c.
HENRICUS WOTTONIUS fero Diese

ELSITUDINI Tua; tenella adhuc Ætatis, insequentes PLAU-SUS ET VOTA, Qua PAREN-TEM Tuum, Optimum Regum è SCOTIA Reducem exceperunt, non

inconsultè Dedico : Ut postquam Literis (Avito jam Decore) imbutus sueris, ex hac quantulacunque Commentatiuncula Gazam haurias, Triplici DIADE MATE Splendidiorem: Nempe HEREDITARIAM VIRTUTIS IMAGI-NEM. THE PROPERTY WEEK AND A SECOND PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE

REGEM

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SCOTIA REDUCE M

Henrici Wottonii

PLAUSUS ET VOTA

Augustissime CAROLE REXET DOMINE.

A

Nobilior occasio

Ntiquitus mos erat apud humaniores Gentium, quoties Justo Bonoq; Principe fruebantur, ne muta felicitas in pectoribus torperet, affectus & gaudia Præconiis, Votis, Plausibus effundere; Præsertim si quæ acclamantium Voces eliceret.

K 4 Cuju

Cujus ego tam sancti moris Emulatione quadam raptus, discusso circa præcordia frigore quod gravior jam ætas invexerat, ad celebrandum hanc Diem qua Te nobis, Nosq; nobismetipsis restituis, slagrante fiducia accedo. Adeò enim proprià dicendi Imbecillitate non deterreor, ut parum abfit quin ed me magis idoneum æstimem : Quippe, quid opus est Rhetorico apparatu? Cur anxiè nimis Verborum pondera expenderem ? Sufficiet hodie simpliciter gaudere. Sinceritas rudis ac impolita res est, quò incomptior eò alacrior : Et Facundia dum ornat, corrumpit lætitiam. At neque id metuo, ne hoc officium blandientis videatur : & quasi ad Fortunæ Genua ambitiosæ projecti; quod fane indignum foret ingenuo pudore quem à Parentibus, Indignum beata Mentis requie quam ex honestis studiis hausi. Inica tamen, fateor, in ipso limine Me circumcingit sollicitudo: Nimirum, ne Verecundiam illam qua Majestas Tua cæteras Virtutes suavissimè condire solet etiam veris laudibus offendam. Nam cum adalia omnia Fortissimus sis quæ aut Corporis Robur, aut Constantram Animi postulent; solum vereor, ne hodiernos applausus & Elogia, quò justiùs debentur, eò mollius feras.

Legimus Germanicum (at quantum Virum!) paulo ante Prælium in Chattos, ferina opertum pelle ne nosceretur, appropinquasse noctu militum Tabernaculis, ut conceptam de se opinionem in tenebris subriperet: Adeo proprias plerumq. Laudes tenerrime excipiunt qui maxime merentur. Unde satis prævideo quam necessarium sit, ut ad sacras tuas Aures Argumentis non ex levi Oratopum officina, sed paulo severioribus, aditum præmuniam. Dico igitur æquissimum esse ut neque pulchræ Principum,

nec deformes Vitz, ignobili filentio premantur : Sed boni Pravique eadem scribendi qua vivendi libertate: Nec minore Veritatis quam Majestatis Reverentia, ad posterorum notitiam juxta transeant: Illi quidem, ne subductis Virtutum Exemplis, Virtutes ipfæ paulatim deficerent : Hi verd, ut foluti Legum vinculis, aliquo faltèm Annalium metu temperentur. Hoc ausim Tibi dicere, Præstantissime Domine, Et hoc ipsum quod ausim Tibi-met-ipsi debeo; Qui Triginta-tres jam Annos ità vixisti, Ità novem serè regnasti, ut Verum non timeas. Clariffima erat olim, & æternum Vivet Virginii Rufiad Cluvium responsio; Scis (inquit) Virgini, Que Historia Fides debeatur : Proinde, 6 quid in Historiis meis legis aliter ac velles, Ignoscas rogo. Cui Virginius; Clavi, ne tu ignoras ideò me fecisse Quod feci, ut esset vobis liberum Scribere qua libuisses. Ad hæc fuit inclyti quidem fed privati Hominis fe curitas. Quanto magis exultet hæc dies ob receptum Regem, de cujus Vità Moribusque apertissimè simul ac tutisime loquamur. Quin & confidenter hoc adjiciam; Si prima Architeltrix N ATURA ipsa Pectus Tuum (ut Verbo Virruviano utar) fenestrasset; Si omnium oculos non solum intra Secretiores Cubiculi parietes, fed ad intimos Cordis recessus admitteres, nihil omnino aliud appareret quam splendor Boni, & Imperturbata Virtutum Serenitas. Quid dixi? Si admitteres? Ac si posfent, Quos hic Supremum NUMEN in fublimi & Lucido posuit, ex Oculis eripi, Et Vita vel Imperii rationem quasi prætensis Nubibus occulere: În hoc quidem Obscuritas & ipsa folitudo est Majestate tectior. Putatne ille Abissinorum Imperator, quem ferunt quotannis semel palam conspici, eò-minus notescere quid clanculum fiat? Annon etiam hodie scimus Domitianum olim in secreto Horario, quo se indies seclusit, nihil alind quam præacuto stilo Muscas confixisle? Num Tiberius in Capreensi fecessu delituit? Cum inter tot Vulnera & Laniatus Conscientiæ (quels tanquam Furiis agitabatur ) multa quotidie divulfæ Mentis Indicia erumperent? Non certè. Majestas Tua & sui Temporis, & venturi Principes unicam folum & faluberrimam fe celandi Artem docuit, quod nihil celandum moliris. Sunt quædam Animalcula ingrato aspectu, velut Noctuz ac Vespertiliones, qua Natura ad Lucis Odium damnavit: Nonnullos etiam Potentium fuisse scio, Qui inter imperii Arcana & pro magno Versutiæ Mysterio habuere. è longinquo coli; Ac si Reverentia in Speluncis tantum & Crypteriis, non in aprico habitaret. Unde hæc Regendi Sophismata? Paucis dicam ac libere. Per obliquos tramites incedebant quia nefciverunt ( brevissimam Viam ) esse Bonos. Tu autem non Subditorum lumina & accessus fugis: Non abdito gaudes: Non Te tuis subtrahis: Non rigido & abducto Vultu falsam Venerationem captas. Imò interdum etiam ad Comitatem quandam defcendere non gravaris dignitate illæsa. Sic enim in limpidissimo sinu tecum reputas, Si non effet supra porestatem Nostram latere posse, At esset infra Bonstatem latere velle. Qua certe nihil demum esse popularius. Onippe Bonos Reges Boni omnes aperte, sed & improbissimi tacitè venerantur, dum Virtutis pulchritudo non secus ac insolitum aliquod Jubar vel nolentium oculos perstringit. Quare cum nuper in manus TRANQUILLUM SUETO-NIUM sumpsissem (qui ipsa Casarum Viscera denudavit ) ad fallendam dum aberas, literato aliquo diverticulo, ingratam dierum longitudinem: & in

& in illum forte locum incidissem, quo tam graphice describitur Augusti ejulatus, in Variana Cla-de crebro vociserantis, REDDE MIHI, OUINTILI VARE, LEGIONES MEAS; illico exardebat Tui Deliderium, & vota pro reditu incaluêre. Multo enim tum inftins visum est, Angliam debuisse SORORE M suam anhelantibus suspiriis lacessere, quam Augustum Q UINTILII Manes: Redde mihi, Scotia Soror . Regem noftrum : Redde Optimum Virorum ? Quem nemo nisimalus non amat, nemo nisi ignarus non laudat. Redde Morum Rectorem, fimal & Normam : Quò non solum latiores, sed & Meliores simus, dum propiùs contemplabimur (quod rarissimum est) in summo Fastigio minima Licentia Exemplar. Cum itaque Talis fis, (optime REX) fupplex, permittas rogo, fi precibus quam Argumentis flecti malis, ut novem (Tot enim computo ) discreti Sermonis Populi, quorum habenas moderaris, TE Talem este glorientur. Idque prædicent non vernaculo folum cujusque ldiomate ( quod gaudiis quidem nostris an-gustius foret ) sed communiori hac qualitercung; Lingua, ut & Exteri sciant, BRITANNI-AN Tuam, quæ olim primum Orbi Christiano & maximi nominis Imperatorem dedit, non adeò exaruisse quin & hodie etiam laudatissimi R E-GIS TYPUM exhibeat.

Jam aliquantulum præmollità, uti spero, ad audiendi patientiam vià, dehine juvabit quædam ex toto hactenus Vita tua Morumque habitu quasi carptim delibare, eorum more qui Flores legunt. Etenim delectu magis rerum quam ubertate gestio: quanquam non ignarus, adeò profusam suisse vetum in hoc Dicendi Genere aut Diligentiam aut Ambitionem, ut non inscitè forsan TIM Æ-

US dixerit, ALEXANDRUM Macedonem citiis omnem ASIAM subegisse, quam ISOCRATES Panegyricum scripsisset. Enimferaci Eloquentiæ sæculo lasciviebant Rhetorum Ingenia. At me decet, simplicitatis simul nostra ac Senecutis memorem, Summa potius ex encomiis Tuis attingere, quam fingula perlequi; ut ipfa Orationis Brevitas velut elabentium Annorum fugam imitetur. Cæterum Antè alia fese offert Eximia Ortus tui Nobilitas: quâ in longâ Antecedentium REGUM serie cunctis, ne ipso quidem PARENTE excepto, præluces. Id paucis clarius deducam. Atavus Tuus, HENRICUS Septimus (Felicior an Fortior nescio ) Rubellam Albamque ROSAS, duarum præpotentium Familiarum Infignia, per ELISABETHE EBORACENSIS Connubium, Exul fere simul & Victor univit : que divulse Patriam tot annos infestis Odiis & Cruore polluerant.

Beatius Regnorum quam Rosarum vinculum Paremis Tui Auspiciis debemus, vel ob id solum non fine summa Veneratione memorandi. At in Te unico (Augustissime CAROLE) omnium post Romanos, omnis Evi Nationum, qua Britanniam per Jus aut arma possederunt, constuit gloria. In Te, inquam, Unico; quem primum CAMBRICI, ANGLO-SAXONICI, SCOTICI, NORMANNICI, ac DANICI demum, Germinis SURCULUM ex hactenus Coronatis agnoscimus. In hoc fortasse, (si Comparationis Vilitas non spernatur) Celeberrimo Europa ISTRO non absimilem, quem per immensa spatia devolutum tot illustrium alveorum Unda

nobilitant.

Scripfit inter nostrates haud obscurus Author, non priùs Majeres nostros segitimum in Anglià Normannorum Imperium agnovisse, (quod tam ægro initio laboraverat) Quam MATTHILDIS HENRICO Primo enupta, Sobolem ex Antiquo Saxonicorum Regum Sanguine, in hanc lucem protulisset. Erat autem illa DAVIDIS ETHELDREDI Regis Abnepotis, ex progentoribus Tuis, SOROR. Quanto nunc splendidior Causa Majestatem Tuam omnibus Ulnis ambiendi, qui ex tam multiplici Imperantium prosapia, ad Nos desluxistis! Postquam & Cimbrici Sanguinis Vetustissimi, Additamentum cæteris Decoribus accessit, ex ANNA, Matre Virilis Animi HEROINA. Et quanto nunc verius repetamus, quod Superiori Evo Buchananus, selicissimi post Antiquos Ingenii Vates, Aviæ Tuæ (utinam feliciore Fato!) cecinit,

#### Missa per imumeros Sceptra tueris Avos.

Sed hæc quidem hactenus vix Tua reputas: Ad propria transeo, quæ non minus illustrant quam illustrantur.

Tria animadvertimus, Optime REX (quà appellatione iterum libenter & sæpiùs utar) in Primordiis Tuis ad insequentes progressus haud sævis momenti, ut ferè semper incrementis inhæret Prin-

cipiorum fapor.

Primum, Quod non in supremam Imperii Spem natus es. Unde Adulatio ( quanquam velox & Vigil Malum) quæ ipsa summorum Hæredum Incunabula circumstat, mollioribus Annis Tuis segnitus incubuic: & propria interim Indoles, simpliciore haustu, generosum Honesti Succum imbibebat.

Nam

Nam certè in formandis & quasi (ut sic dicam) instillandis privati cujusque, nedum Principum, primavis propensionibus, Reipublica multum interest: Cujus non solum Fulcimina, sed & simulachra sunt sururi.

Alterum, quod Fratri successisti non modicis quidem Natura Dotibus. Unde Parentum exhine solertior & contractior Sedulitas (curam enim excedebat) circa Unici Filii Ornatum. Quin & Tui ipsius erectiores indiès Spiritus, cum Tanta jam Expectationis Onus in Te solum recidisset. Tum admoti qui attatem illam nondum Negotiis aptam, Literis sideliter imbuerent: Tum acciti qui Te, paulatim crescente robore, Equestribus Exercitiis polirent. Qua Memini quam decora dexteritate in primo Juventa agitabas: Donec postea in frequenti Hastarum decursione, nescio plus spectantibus Gaudii, an Pavoris injiceres,

Tertiò in Mentem venit quod aliquandiù, quafi luctante Naturà, Corporis Artubus paulò invalidior eras, & Vigori longè Impar quem nunc latantes stupemus. Quod equidem secretioris Providentia Confilio contigisse autumem, quo intentior tùm esset Ingenii excolendi Cura; ut Hæredem Regis clam suturum decuit; Quem omnium post multa Sæcula principum Sapientissimum, ne Maligni qui-

dem negant.

A primitiis Tuis ad robuftiora propero, promisse

Brevitatis non oblitus.

Post Peregrinationem, variis Casibus obnoxiam, ad coronam Pervenisti: Unde constat quantum insemet tum auderes, cum Omnes interim Domi, Twi causa trepidarent. Sed Celestis Favor Te nobis Incolumem reduxit, & ne tinctum quidem

Exoticis Coloribus: velut alterum ULYS-SEM, cui fatis erat (vel HOMEROTeffe)

cognovisse Mores Hominum & Urbes.

Adfumpto Diademare, emicuit antè alia Religiofus Animus , Regnorum Columen , Bonorum Gaudium. Sacellum Regium nunquam ordinatius. Auctior indies Infignium Theologorum numerus. Conciones nullo unquam Ævo frequentiores, nullo Doctiores: Et Exemplum Principis, Concionibus Validius. Nulla ex ore execratio temerè prodiit. Ab omni paulò lasciviori, nedùm sordido sermone. Aures abhorrebant ; qui fub EDO AR DO Quarto fortalle, cam Vagi Amores regnarent, pro Aulica Elegantia habebatur. Nec intra Palatii parietes Pietas stetit; fed per Regnum diffusa. Întacti Ecclesiæ reditus. Templorum hinc indè jacta Fundamenta: Collapsus passim restituit. Et quod præcipuè posteri loquentur, Pientissimo Tuo Monitu excitatæ Regni Opes, ad restaurandam Ædem Apostolo Gentium Sacram, quæ passa erat Temporis injurias; Omnium Orbis Christiani ( quis dubitet? ) pari vetustate Amplissimam; Ubi effulsit Majestatis Tuz cura, in demoliendis Privatorum Ædificiis, quæ tam visendi operis faciem dehonestabant : Nec minus in administratione totius Negotii impolita, Vigilantissimo Prafuli, qui ob spectatissimam Fidem & Judicium, nuperrimè altiora meruit.

Jam post Deum, Quam tenero erga Subditos affectu? Cum Contagio grassaretur, Ad publica Jejunia, Jusiu Tuo recursum. Cum Inedia majori Metu quam Malo premeremur, Annona slagellatores aperire Horrea coacti, lenitis Frugum

pretiis.

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Inter has fanctiores Curas non omiferim, Provi-

dentiæ Tue peculiare Præconium; cujus Origo

paulò altiùs repetenda.

Enatæ funt foras antè aliquot Annos, aut forte ex antiquo recruduerunt, Controversiæ quædam, circà sublimes Fidei Articulos, que cum ad nos quoque transvolassent., ( ut facile se diffundunt Ingeniorum Flamma,) ne hic etiam Pulpita & Calami, cum Inquietudine publica incalescerent, Majestas Tua per Edittum, laudatissima temperie, omnem utrimque Disceptationem compressit. Sentiant Alii quid velint; Meo Arbitratu ( fi Verbo sit venia) Disputandi Pruritus, est Ecclesiarum Scabies. Referam quod mihi contigit observâsse non semel. Duos nempe de Re quapiam acerrimè disceptantes, donec utroque ex alio in aliud Contentionis æstu abrepto, Ambo tandem, primò Charitatem, deinde etiam Veritatem amilerant. Quò procederet irrequietum Acumen, nisi premeretur? Nullus est finis Argutiarum. Sed mature Obviam itum eft.

His Pietatis Laudibus subjiciam Ingens gratitudinis, Ingentius ferè Constantiæ documentum, erga GEORGIUM VILLIERIUM, BUCKINGHAMIÆ DUCEM, Quem, cum inter Hispanici Itineris discrimina, lateri Two præcipuus comes adhæsisset, Domi posteà per omnes utriusque Fortunæ Scopulos, quasi repensa vice, tutò circumtulisti; donec improvisum Diem clausit. Vidimus etiam non leves Favoris Tui Radios in Alterum ex Fidis comitibus, & Colestie Indicii Vicinum considere

folertis Judicii Virum conjectos.

At hac non folum inter Argumenta Animi Fidelium Officiorum memoris (quod verè Regium est) recenseo; sed & singularis ergà Parentem etiam defunctum Obsequii, cui Buckinghamini tot Annos in delitiis fuerat : Ac fi Majestas Tua fese tam Affectuum ejus, quam Regnorum Hæredem reputallet ; Raro inter Omnium Sæculorum memorias Exemplo-Erat fane Dux ille ob multa Amabilis, eademo; rarissime conjuncta. Singulis Corporis Artubus quali affabre compositus: Forma tamen, an Venustas superaret, incertum. Animo autem haud dubie intrepido. Impositis, adsumptifve Curis aquè in-Aderat, tot negotiis districto, incredibilis Temperies & Æquabilitas. Appetitum Gloriz haud negaverim, quem generosi Spiritus tardissime deponunt. At quod super omnia suavissimum; nulla Morum auftericas. Nihil in externo tumidi. Sed Obvius, Affabilis, & cuique fere Expositus: Ac fi in tanta Fælicitate, vix Fælicitatem fuam fenfisset. Quo vel uno meritus videatur, ut mollius decumberet.

Pollère post hac incepit Principibus Majestatis Tuz Curis indiesque pollet, quò probatior co acceptior, Vir sane moderato vitæ Habitu, & gravissimi Consilii: ac transmissi spanibus, ad solidam Prudentiam natus. Quem nominare Injuriosum foret; nam qui ingenue describitur, sine Nomine

intelligatur.

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os in Ac merito Supremen in Affectus Imperium, fibifoli vindicavit Dignissima Regalis Thalami CO N-SO RS, Ipsa ctiam longo Regam Stemmate oriunida, Sed satis est dicere MAGNI HENRICI FILIA, ac FUSTI LUDOVICI SOROR. Quam, ob Charissima jam utriusque sexus Pignota, ob Castissima Venustatis Decus (& quod Conjugale Vinculum maxime beat) ob congruos Mores, adeo Sanctè & unice amas, ut merito videaris ex Optimi Patroni, in Optimi Conjugis Titulum transivisse. Castimoniae Temperantiam adjunxisti,

ilti, cognatam comitem: quas inter Impotentes & Miscros, quis non tacitus præteriret? Sed in Rege, sed in Juvene, tam vegetæ Ætatis; & in tantà ad omnes Appetitus explendos promptitudine, laudemus magis an miremur, nescio.

Jam post hæc Elogia, que partim Amorem, partim etiam Stuporem conciliant; de Temporis Tui

Justitià vel dubitare înjustissimum fuerit.

Non pigebit tamen paulò fusiùs repetere rem in obscuræ fortis Hamine, illustrislimi Exempli. Contigit Londini nescio quis Tumultus, ob quendam ex Apparitorum manubus ereptum, qui alieno ære obstrictus in Carcerem ducebatur: ubi inter confusos Animorum motus unus aut alter ( ut ferme fit ) ex fortuitis vulneribus perière; unde Johannes Stamfordius Quidam, Vir manu promptus qui se his Turbis fataliter immiscuerat ) pro Homicidii reo, in Vincula conjectus est. Non caruit apud Majestatem Tuam Intercessoribus magni Nominis; Et certissima jam effulgebat ( ut in vulgus credebatur ) impetrandæ Veniæ Spes, quia Buckinghamia Duci à Cubiculo fuerat, & inter suæ Conditionis Clientes, Hero aliquandiu gratissimus ob Eximium Corporis Robur & luctandi peritiam. Cujus tum etiam regens adhuc Memoria: quod misellum fortalle Audaciorem secerat. At neque superstitum Preces, neque Viri ipsius notisfima Fortitudo, Nec denique tam dilecti nuper Capitis, cujus in Clientela fuerat, recordatio, apud Majestatem Tuam Justitià prævaluère; Quin ( magnum dictu ) Laqueo Vitam finiit.

Recentior est Memoria Supplicii, quod Baro pervetusta Prosapia, palàm passus est ob Facinus Natalibus suis Indignum. Sed si vetus Ingeniosi Authoris Observatio adhic valeat, Quadam esse Clari-

ora, quedam Majora; Equidem Baronis Clarius Spectaculum, sed Stamfordii Majus crederem.

At quò me rapir, dum Hæc Revolvo, non in-fuavis quædam Meditatio? Habet Majestas Tua in ftricti Turis Tribunalibus, Idoneos Judices : Qui rigidiùs pronunciant. Habet etiam consultissimu n Æqui Bonique Antistitem , Antiquis Prætoribus parem: Qui, pro Populi levamento, feveriora emollit. Sed Hi feorsim, discretis Solile locantur. Si quis forte quærat, cur non fimul, quod expeditius videatur? Dicam quod fentio. Exoptabant MAJORES noftri , ex gravislima quidem Providentia, Justitiam ac Lenitatem, Quæ in Magistratu inferiori divulse sedent, in solo SUPREMI Pectore Societas. Et fane fic eft, Majestas Tua velut ad Majorum desiderium compofita, Has aded temperate commiscuir, ut neque Mali audeant, neque doleant Boni. Hactenus intelligi velim Me solum de Communibus quasi Flagiffis coercendis loquutum, que ubique Terrarum pullulant : Nam de Atrocioribus apud Nos (Divino Beneficio) Ne Verbum, Imò, Ne Somnium quidem. Laboramus excellenti Ignorantià. Ne-feimus quid Perduellio, quid contrà falutem Pub-licam Machinator, quidve illud fit, quod Grammatiei Læsam Majestatem vocant. Cum Rebus ipsa Vocabula obfoluerunt. Nec mirum quidem. Quis enim, nisi omnium Mortalium Stupidiffimus idem & Sceleratissimus, parique prorsus Vecordia ac Nequitia, tam Justi Piique MO DERATORIS Quietem violaret ?

Jam ut Justiciam ( quam Imperii Twi Sahitatem dixerim ) æquissimo libramine tueris, hoc est, neque tensis nimium, neque laxatis Nervis: Itanec

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omittis que ad Securitatem spectant. Idem enim alioquin Imperiis, quod Corporibus noftris, contingeret: Quæ periculose subsistunt, ubi sola Valetudine . 'sustinentur. Quare post Bellum cum duobus fimul Potentissimis Regibus, Eventu (ut in Humanis fit) vario, per Nova ntrimque Fædera consopitum; Princeps Domi Cura erat de maritimo Robore refarciendo, ut Infularium Regnorum TUTOREM decuit. Unde Classis Regia quotannis Auctior & Instruction : Item, Commodiores Navibus Stationes dilecta, & promptiore ad fortuitos Casus exitu : Majestate Tud non folum jubente, sed & propriis Oculis ipsa loca subeunte: Ac si in re tanti momenti, vix alienis crederes. Deinde accuratior quam unquam antea; Armorum lustratio; & in universum exercitation. statis Temporibus, Militia.

Inter hæc, Incivile esset silère quod Prudentes Temporum adnotarint, Majestatem Tuam Consultis (ut vocant), de Statu, frequentius intervenire, quam superiorum Quenquam Regum. Niss forte ad E D O A R D U M Sextum oculos reflectamus, quem serum etiam Puerum rarò absu-

iffe.

In illo Confilis Tui Cattu, Supremi Prafules Reverentiam, ex utroque Regno felecti Processo Dignitatem, adjungunt. Sunt quos exterarum Resum 1918, Sunt quos Municipalium Legum Peritia, exornat. Et Secretariorum Erudita, Fidelisque sagacitas accidentibus invigilat. Sed super hæc, Ipsa Domini præsentia nescio quid salutiserum spirat. Parum est quod dixì, Præsentiam solum. Imò ex iis qui Consilia Tua participant (non omninò, fateor incuriosus, ignoscas rogo) sepius accepi, quam attente quoties interesse libet, proposita

polita revolvis : Quam patienter auscultas ; Quam acri Judicio fingula quaque expendis; Quam pertinax fis (non enim utar molliori voce ) ubi Bo. no, Quam Strenuus ubi Magno Animo opus lit-Denique in Secretioribus Negotiis, Quam restrictam Taciturnitatem imponis, & Quam severè exigis. In hoc quoque, exemplo proprio præmonstrante quod jubes. Quippe præter alia, Duo quidem Majestas Tua beatissimo nexu copulavit: Nimirum Nullus ufquam Principum, Post Constituta Imperia, natus est Secreti turior Custos; Et tamen cujus Secretum & Silentium minus timemus. Quod de Optimo Viro Julio Agricola dictum olim legimus, qui Romanorum Primus , C A L E DO N I & Tua Limbum invalit. Quippe Majestas Tua non introrsus & sinu fovet immansuetas & subdoles cogitationes; Non offensionis fcintillis incubat donèc exæstuent: sed Celso & Nobilissimo Candore, si que concepta fuerint, recludis, &, ut sic dicam, exhalas. Enimyero in nulla, fateor, Virtutum Tuarum reverentia lubentius hæreo, quam in hoc ipfo Heroicæ Ingenuitatis Elogio. Nam ut fummus ALTISSIMI Character Veritas eft, Ita quid fuam in Terris imaginem REFERENTES, magis quam ipfa Veracitas condecoret, aut magnificentius vestiat?

Vidimus Hactenus: erga Parentem obsequium; in Amicos Constantiam; In Conjugio Fidem; in fovenda Republica non Regis sed Patris Affectum. Nec inter hac, pro conditione Temporum & perplexo Rerum Statu, neglecta erga Sororem Unicam Optimi Fratris Officia, Qua mihi semper visa est sola sui Sexus omnibus Malis Major, & ipsa observitate Illustrior, & quidem Intra Fortuna sortem, sed Extra imperium Posita. Quam quantum ames,

Imò quantum æstimes, ex nuperà Legatione patuit; Cum in gravissimo Vidue Luctu, deserendo Solatio Primorem è Nobilibus, & priscis Ipsum Virtute ac Moribus Virum, ablegares: ut amantissima Legationi, ex ipso Legati Delectu, aliquid etiam Dignitatis, accederet. Hoc de Solamine.

Quod ad Subsidium spectat, Nonne Majestas Tua ex Primoribus etiam Scotice Nobilitatis MARCHIONI, quanquam hic affiduis circa Teipsum & intimis officiis obstricto, probanda Fortitudinis suæ Veniam indulst? Per quæsitissimas Ambages, in tanto Viarum interclusu, per Maris Terræque Discrimina, Per loca Urbesque Peste & Inedia obsitas : Ubi ferè difficiliùs erat penetrare. quam vincere: ac duriùs Pati, quam Facere. Si post hæc Successus defuere; At non animosa Regis Voluntas, At non Subditorum Virtus, At non fumptus variis modis, At non Legationes interim Legationibus accumulatæ, de sedanda, per æquas Conditiones & amicabilem Tractatum, Orbis Infanià. De cætero vel SOLO-NIS monitu acquiescendum, NEMO ANTE OBITUM GLO-RIETUR.

Jam inter tot Guras, quibus vel Optimi Regum maxime premuntur, non injucundum fuerit, paulifper inquirere quam eleganter intervalla Otti difponis. Nobilium Equorum ufu gaudes; quos nemo peritius aut manfuetos flectit, aut ferocientes domat. Adeò ut aptius an dignius fecerit, ambigerim, Qui nuper Majestari Tua Statuam Equestrem ex perenni Ere fundi curavit: LISIERII vivax Opus.

Accedit Musica, quæ tam Organica, quam Vocalis, sub Te indies, quam ante hac, Modulatior:

Utpote

Utpote ad Aurium Tuarum Judicium accommodata. Hanc ne mollior videretur, quan Venatione cemperas. Qua, Belli Imagine, adea animofus Spiritus exerces, ut difficile dictu sit, Venandi Voluptatem magis, an ipsum Laborem ames: aut utrum de Præda Victoriam, an Longam Prædæ Fugam malles.

Sed omnium Oblectationum Tuarum Splendidiffima, est excellentium Operum & Artificum Amor: Quels in utraq; tam Pingendi, quam Sculpendi Arte, ita Palatia decorasti; ut Magnificentia Tua videatur Italiam, maximam elegantium Artium Matrem, aut Saltem post Graecos, praecipuam Altri-

cem, in Angliam transfudiffe.

His Spectaculis quid amæniùs, imò ferè quid dectius, rogo, Quam elinguem illam Umbrarum & Luminum Eloquentiam, ac tacitam Linearum Poesim, & quasi animata Marmora contemplari? Hic Tinctoretti quos designavit Artus & Musculos, moveri Spectator juraret. Hic Baffani Volucres cantillant, mugiunt Boyes, Pecora balant, Hic Raphaelis Vultus spirant : Titiani etiam loquuntur. Hic in Corregiano Politiem: In Parmenfi Concinnitatem laudares. Nec Belgicis etiam sua Laus deest. Qui si Campos depinxerint; omne Vigentium Genus viret, Flores rident, Montes eriguntur, Valles subsidunt. Eadem etiam in Statuis erndira Varietas: Quarum Hæ Membrorum vivacitate quâdam ; Aliz Mollitie gaudent. Sed hæc Oculorum delinimenta funt. Ad mentem reficiendam, Interdum librum aliquem Selectioris Argumenti, plerumque Homines legis: Optime gnarus, quantum PRINCIPI expediat fuorum moffe Ingenia. Est & quando, veterum Epigrammata recen-fendo Animum oblectas, non minori Acumine quam componebantur. L 4 Sic

Sic feria tua, sic remissiora cursim peragravi. At ipsa quam cepi in his quanquam ita leviter delibandis Voluptas, Calamum jam currentem nescio quo modo novo Impetu exstimulat, ut Majestatu Tuo veram Effigiem in Contractiori Modulo, & quasi sub uno simul intuitu (si tantum Veniz indulseris) vel mihimet ipsi representem, Quam sic Mente

concipio.

Staturam dicerem Justæ proximam. Corpus erectum & agile. Color in Universum ex E BOR A-CENSI Albore, quam LANCASTRIA Rubedine plus hausit. Cæsaries nigellæ quam slavæ propior. Frons multum Fidei præsert. Oculos generosa quædam Verecundia honestat: non qualem olim de Syllå sed de Pompeio legimus. In Gestubus nihil affectatum. Intoto etiam aspectu nil Turgidi, nil Efferati; sed alliciens ac decora Suavitas. Alacritatem & vigorem celerior incestus prodit: Alioquin sedati Affectus & compositi mores. Propositi & promissi tenacissimus. Amans veri. Vitiorum Osor. Justus, Constans, Fortis: & non simpliciter tantum sed scienter Bonus.

Talis es: Talemque quanto Applausa recipiemus? videre mihi videor, dum Horrida interdum & Tranquilla simul contendo, quotiescunque RICHARDUS ille TERTIUS Eboraco sorsan suo, aut longsinquius Londinum remearet, & Proceres circa se conciret, Quam nutabant Nobilium Capita, Quam pallebant Ora, Quam sollicitas inter se suspiciones ac murmura conferebant, Ac si dirus repente Cometes, aut infanstum aliquod Sidus supra Horizontem emersisset. Sed contra Justia Boniq, PRINCIPIS Reditus, nihil aliquo omaino est quam ipsa Solis Anastrophe, Cum

Vernalibus radiis deformem Hyemen expellit, ac blando Tepore cuncta circumquaque refovet & exhilaret. Euge igitur Rex omnibus Bonis Gratissime. Sed in quæ Vota desinam? Veteribus in usu erat (quorum Exemplo percitus exiguum hunc laborem audacter nimium subivi) post Trajani Tempora sub Laudatissimo quoque Imperatore, hujusmodi acclamandi Formula, Vive ANTONINE, Regna THEODOSI, AUGUSTO selicior, TRAJANO Melior. Sit autem Hic Imperii Tusi novissimus Character, quòd Opeanda sum Laudandis Pauciora. Igitur postquam hoc tantum ex ardenti affectu voverim, ut CAROLUS Optimus REX & DOMINUS ROSINIES, Finis esto.

O Fortunatos nimium Bona si sua norint!

CONTRACTOR ETT ! and a character of the state of the last ישורים ובייל בלחילו בייור ביול בייול ביילים Chieft, Lecciptuis S. ambibly Bob sand line. See the circ you defined the see to at 500 en total on a minuscono or other I therive). cill story of appiers. How wing of mingo Books Laterie Locas que la variete, han en la sedie-MINOT MONTH Mar of the State of the Late Section 1 Sales and Sales Aprelon vo, pursu you of sports 2. The whole MANUAL CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY the state of the state of the state of

## PANEGYRICK

TO

### King CHARLES;

BEING

#### OBSERVATIONS

Upon the Inclination, Life and Government of our late SOVEREIGN.

#### Written in Latin

By Sir H E N R T W O T T. O N Knight, (Provost of Eason College) a little before his Death.

And now Englished by a Friend of the Authors.

AND STATEMENT OF S

TO OUR

# Young C HAR LES; DUKE of CORNWALL, EARL of CHESTER, &c.

HENRY WOTTON wisheth long life.

Hese sollowing Vowes and Acclamations (wherewith Tour Father (the best of Kings) was received at his Return from Scotland) I dedicate not unadvisedly to your Highness that when you shall be seasoned with Erudition, (now your Ornament from many Ancestors) you may draw from this (whatever) small Memorial, a Treasure more glorious than a triple Diadem, namely, AN HEREDITARY IMAGE OF VERTUE.



TO THE

# KING,

At his Return from SCOTLAND,

Sir HENRY WOTTON'S Vows

Imperial CHARLES, my King and Mafter.



Custom it was anciently, among the civiller Nations, so oft as they enjoyed a just and a Gracious King, (that their mute felicity might not contract a dulness in their Brests) to pour forth their affections and joyes in Elogies, wishes, and applauses; But

chiefly then, when any nobler occasion invited the rejoycers expressions. Which facred customs, Emulation in some fort, having transported me, and dispell'd

the chilness from my breast which the weight of age hath introduced, I shall with flagrant confidence betake my felf to celebrate this Day, whereon your Majesty doth restore your self to us, and us unto our felves. So far indeed am I from being discouraged by the weakness of my own elocution, that I am even ready to esteem my felf thereby the abler. For, what need is here of dreffings Rhetorical? Wherefore should we so over follicitously balance the weight of words? Suffice it this day fimply to rejoyce. Sincerity is a plain and impolite thing, the less tricked the more chearful; and Eloquence while it adorneth corrupteth our gladness. Nor is it my fear, that this shall feem a flatterers act, (as it were) ambitiously prostrate at Fortunes feet, which in truth were unworthy of that ingenuous modesty, derived from my Parents, unbefitting that theffed Rest of mind I drew from liberal Studies. Yet doth one solitude at the very entrance, I confess, surround me, lest (namely) even with true praises I offend that mode Ity, wherewith your Majesty useth so sweetly to feafon your other Vertues, for whereas you are most frout in al! things elfe, that requires validity of Body, or Constantness of Mind, I only doubt, lest you should bear this days Applauses and Elogies, by lo much the more tenderly, by how much they are the more justly due.

We read that Germanicae (and yet how great a Personage!) not long before the Battel against the Chatti; did under the disguise of a Beasts Skin, (that he might not be observed) by night, approach his Souldiers Tents, to eatch up by dark, what they conceived of him. So do those commonly with most tenderness admit their own commendations, who most

deferve them.

Whence I fufficiently forefee the necessity of assuring my access to your Sacred Ears, not by Arguments drawn from the flight Magazines of Rhetorick. but by others of a foberer fort. I shall therefore affirm it most equitable, that neither the gallant nor the bafer lives of Princes be pressed down in ignoble filence. But that both good and bad be transmitred equally to the knowledge of Posterity, in a like freedom of writing, as living: and with no lefs reverence of Truth, than of Majesty. Those, least vertuous examples failing, Vertues themselves by degrees decay: Thefe, that evading the power of Laws, yet may be bridled through some awe of Record. This to you, I may dare to speak (my most gracious Master) and even that I may dare, I ewe to your felf alone, who now have fo lived 33 years, and fo reigned near to nine, that you dread not Truth.

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Most famous was of old, and will live for ever, that answer of Virginius Rusus, to Cluvius: Ton know, Virginius, (saith he) what credit is due to History: wherefore if you read any thing in my books, otherwise than you would have it, pardon me. To whom Virginius, Thou canst not (Cluvius) be ignorant of this, That therefore I did what I have done, that it might be free for you to write what you pleased. This was indeed the considence of a gallant, but yet of a private man.

How much more eminent may the joy be of this day for a King returned, of whose Life and Morals we may speak both openly and safely. Yea, let me add this with considence, that if Nature her self (the first Architectres) had (to use an expression of Varuvius) windowed your Breast: if your majesty should admit the eyes of all men.

not only within the privatest parts of your Bed-Chamber, but even in the inwardest closets of your Heart, no other thing at all would there appear. fave the splendor of your goodness, and an undistempered ferenity of your Vertues. What faid I? if you would admit? as if those whom the supream Power hath fet on high, and in the light, could be hid from our Eyes? or cover, as it were by a drawn cloud, the wayes of their Lives and Government? Herein no doubt, Obscurity and Solitude it felf. is more vailed than Majesty. Thinks that Abiffine Emperor (whom Men Report to appear to publick view but once a year) that therefore it is less known what he doth in secret? Know we not at this day, that Domitian even in his closest Cabinet, wherein each day he shut up himself, did nothing but stick Flyes with a pointed Bodkin ? Lay Tiberius hid in his recess to the Islands of Caprea, when among so many Wounds and Tortures of his Conscience (which as so many Furies tormented him) many tokens of a distracted mind did daily break forth? furely no.

Your Majesty hath taught the Princes of your own, and suture times, the only and most whole-some way of self concealing, in that you indea-vour nothing to be concealed. There are certain Creatures of ingrateful aspect, as Bass and Owls; condemned by Nature to hate the light. I know also that some in power have also held it among the secrets of State, and as a great mystery of Crast, to be served at a distance; as if Reverence did only dwell in Dens and Caves, not in the Light. Whence then these Subtilities of Government? In a word and freely; they walked in crooked paths, because they knew not (the shortest way)

to be good. But, your Majesty doth not thun the eyes and access of your Subjects, delight not in covert; nor withdraw your felf from your own people: you do not catch at false veneration with a rigid and clouded countenance; yea, sometime you vouchfafe to descend even to some familiarity without offence to your dignity : for thus you reafon with your felf in the clearness of your own bofome; If it were not above our power to lie concealed, yet were it below our goodness to desire it : than which nothing furely can be in effect more popular; for good Kings all good men openly revere, and even the worst do it filently: Whilest Vertues beauty, not unlike some brightest Rayes, strikes into the most unwilling eyes. Wherefore as of late, I took in hand Tranquillus Suetonius, (who hath laid open the very bowels of the Cafars) to beguite in the time of your absence with some literate diverfion, the tedious length of those days, and fell by chance upon that pallage, fo lively describing the wailings of Augustus, after the Varian defect, often crying out, Render me, Quimilius Varis, my Legions; my desires of your Majesty instantly flamed out, and my wishes glowed for your Return : for it feemeth then much jufter for England to have folicited her SISTER with these panting suspirations, than Augustus the Ghost of Quincilius, Restore to me, Scotland my Sister, our King; Restore the best of men, whom none but the wicked love not; none but the ignorant praise not: Restore both the Director and Rule it felf of Morality, whereby we may become not the gladder only, but the better too, while at hand we may contemplate (a thing most rare) One in highest Place; not indulging to himself the least excess. Since there: fore, fuch you are (O best of Kings; ) suffer 12 hum-M

humbly pray, if rather by Prayers than Arguments you choose to be inclined, That the nine Nations of different Language (for I reckon them no sewer) over which you gently reign, may glory in your being such: and may each declare it, not in their native Dialects alone (which would not give sufficient compass to our joyes) but however, in this also more publick Tongue; That even foreigners may know your Britany, which formerly bestowed upon the Christian World their first and most renowned Emperor, is not become so barren yet as not to afford, even at this day, a Type of the highest

famed King.

Having now thus (Ihope) fomewhat fmooth'd the way to your Patience, in hearing : good it will be henceforth out of the whole state of your Life and Carriage thus far , fummarily to pick up fome particulars, as those do who make their choice of Flowers. For I please my self more in the choice, than in the plenty of my Matter. Although I am not ignorant neither, that in this kind of speaking, the diligence, or ambition of the Ancients was fo profuse, that perhaps Timeus faid not unwittily, That Alexander the Macedonian fooner subdued all Afia, than Ifocrates did write his Panegyrick. Certainly, there feems then to have been too great an indulgence to Art, while the Wits of Orators were wanton in that fertile age of Eloquence: but it becometh me ( mindful both of my simplicity and age ) to touch rather the heads of your praifes, than to profecute them all; that even the fuccinctness of my speech, may as it were, resemble the passage of my fleeting years. In the first place is offered the eminent Nobleness of your Extraction: whereby in a long Order of antecedent

dent Kings, your luftre is above them all, your Father himself not excepted. This in brief I will deduce more clearly: Your Great Great-Grands father Henry the Seventh , (whether more valiant, or fortunate, I know not ) being almost at once an Exile, and a Conqueror, united by the Marriage of Elizabeth of York, the white Role, and the red, the Armories of two very powerful Families, which being in division, had to many years polluted their own Countrey with blood and deadly Fewds. The more bleffed Colligation of the Kingdoms, than that of the Roses, we owe to the Happiness of your Father, who even for that alone were to be remembred ever with highest veneration. But, in you fingly (most Imperial Charles) is the conflux of the glory of all Nations, in all Ages, which fince the Romans have possessed Brital my, either by Right, or by Arms; in you, I fav, alone : whom the Cambrians first, the English-Saxons, Scots, Normans, and finally the Danes do acknowledge with us, to be the branch of that Stock that his therto hath worn the Crown. In this perchance (if the meannels of the comparison be not rejected) not unlike to Europe's famous Ifter, which rolling along through vast Countries, is ennobled with the waters of 10 many famous Areams. One not obfcure among our Authors, hath written, that our Ancestors would not acknowledge the Norman Rule in England for legitimate ( which had fo weak a beginning) until Maud marrying with Henry the First, had brought into the world a Child of the Blood of the ancient Saxon Kings: the was Sifter to David, Nephew twice removed off King Ethelred, your Progenitor.

How much is there now a nobler cause for our

imbracing your Majesty with open arms, who are descended unto us from so plentiful a Race of Kings, since the access of the most ancient Cambrian Blood to the rest of your Nobility, by Queen ANNE your Mother, a Lady of a great and masculine Mind? And how much the more truly may we now repeat, that which in the former Age Buchanan (a Poet, next the Ancients, of most happy invention) sang to your Grand-mother, I wish with happier sate!

From numberless Progenitors you hold Transmitted Scepters, which they sway'd of old.

But all these hitherto you scarcely account your own. I pass then to such as are your own peculiar, which confer no less of lustre, than they admit.

Three particulars we observe, (O best of Kings,) which Appellation I now again willingly, (and shall often use) in your Beginnings, of no small importance to your succeeding Progress; as for the most part of the first savour of Principles, continues

in the after-growths.

First, That you were not born to the supreme hope of Soveraignty, so as flattery (though an evil swift and watchful) which attends the Cradles of Potent Heirs, more gently presed on your tender years. And the whiles your native goodness drank in with a draught more uncompounded the generous liquor of Integrity; for no doubt, how the earliest dispositions of private Persons (much more of Princes) be at first formed, and as it were instilled, that I may so speak, is of highest importance to the Commonwealth; whereof they

are

are to become afterwards not only the Props, but

Next, That you succeeded a Brother of no small Natural Endowments, which begat thence-forward in your Parents a more industrious and closer fedulity ( for it surpasseth care ) for the accomplishment of their only Son : Nay , your own spirits daily grew the more intent, when now the weight of so vast an expectation was lodged on your felf alone. Then were advanced to you such who faithfully instructed in learning that youth of yours, as yet unapt for buliness. Then such were fent for. who as your strength increased, dressed you in the exercises of the Horse; which I call to mind with how graceful a dexterity you managed: until afterwards at a folemn Tilting, I became uncertain whether you strook into the beholders more low or Apprehension.

In the third place, It comes to mind, that for fome time, while Nature was as it were in strugling, you were somewhat weak of limbs, and far below that vigour, which now with gladness we admire: which I may judge to have befallen by the secret Councel of Providence, thereby at that time to render more intense the care of surnishing your mind, as became the Heir, then secretly designed of a King; whom Malignants themselves deny not to have been the wisest of all Princes from many Ages past. From your first Essayes I shall hasten to your stronger times, not unmindful of my promised

business.

After your foreign Travels, obnoxious to many hazards, you came unto the Crown, whence it appeared, how much your felf then dared to adventure, when the while at home each one was

trembling for your fake. But the favour of Heaven brought you back fafely to us; not fo much as coloured with out-landish Dye; not unlike another Ulyffes, who accounted it sufficient (even by Homer's witness ) To have known the Morals of Men and Cities

When you had assum'd the Crown, before all other things, there was resplendent in you a Religious Mind : the Support of Kingdoms : the Joy of good Men. The Chappel Royal was never more in order. The number of eminent Divines daily increased. Sermons in no age more frequented; In none more learned; And the example of the Prince more effectual than the Sermons. No execrations rashly proceeded from your mouth. Your ears abhorring, not only any wanton, but even the least fordid word: which perchance under Edward the Fourth, while toyish Loves did reign, passed for Courtly Eloquence; Neither stopped this Piety within the Walls of Court , but was diffused also through the Kingdom.

The Church Revenues were not touched; Temples here and there new founded; Dilapidations repaired; And, (which Posterity will chiefly speak of) the Riches of your Kingdom, excited by your most religious Exhortation, for Restauration of the Church confecrated to the Apostle of the Nations, (out of question the amplest and equally ancient of the Christian world) which had fustained the injuries of time. Where your Majeflies care was greatly conspicuous in demolishing those private dwellings which disgraced the aspect of fo goodly a Fabrick: And not less in imposing the management of that whole business upon that

most vigilant Prelate, who for his singular sidelity and judgment, hath lately merited far higher

place.

Now (next to God) how tender was your affection to your People? When the Sickness raged, by your Command recourse was had to publick Fastings. When we were pressed with greater fear than evil of Famine, the Hoarders of Provisions were constrained to open their Garners, and the prices of Grain abated. Among these most Pious Cares, I cannot omit one peculiar Elogy, proper to your own Providence, whereof I must repeat the Original a lit.

tle higher.

There were hatched abroad some years agon, or perhaps raked up out of Antiquity, certain Controversies about high points of the Creed, which having likewise flown over to us, (as flames of Wit are easily diffused) lest hereabout also both Pulpits and Pens might run to heat and publick disturbance : Your Majesty with most laudable temper by Proclamation suppressed on both fides all manner of debates. Others may think what pleafeth them; In my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phrase) The Itch of disputing, will prove the Scab of Churches. I shall relate what I have chanced more than once to observe. Two (namely) arguing about some subject so eagerly, till either of them transported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had loft first their Charity, and then also the Truth. Whither would rettless subtilty proceed, if it were not bounded? there is of captiousness no end: but seasonable provision was made againft it.

To these praises of Piety, I will add a very

great evidence of Gratitude: and almost a greater of Constancy, towards George Villiers Duke of Buckingham: him, when amidst the dangers of the Spamish Journey, he had been the nearest of your Attendants, your Majesty afterwards, as in requital, bore safely with you at home, through all the rocks of either Fortune, till an unforeseen day was his

conclusion.

We observed also no ordinary beams of your Favour to be cast upon another of your trusty Associates in the same Journey, a Person of approved Judgment. Neither do I recount these only among the Arguments of an heart mindful of faithful Offices (which indeed is Kingly) but likewise of fingular obsequiousness towards your Father, even when deceased; to whom the Duke of Buckingham had been for many years a Favourite: as if your Majesty had reputed your felf as much the Heir of his Affections, as you were of his Kingdoms; An Example rare among the Memorials of all Ages. This Duke was indeed amiable in many respects, which seldom are concurrent. limb of his Body almost very exactly composed : yet doubtful it was, whether his shape, or gracefulness excelled : undubitably of an undaunted spirit; equally intent upon his cares, whether imposed, or assumed: There was present with him in the midst of so many distractions an incredible temper and equability. I will not deny his appetite of glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from; but, allove all, the most pleasing was, That he had no aufferity of behaviour, nothing outwardly tumerous: but was obvious, affable, and almost to all men free and open; as if in so high a felicity, he had scarce been sensible of his

happiness: for which alone he may feem to have

deferved a more gentle end.

Hence forward there began to be powerful, and to daily holds on in your Majestie's most important cares, a person unquestionably of an habitual moderate life, and sober counsel: and the oftner tryed, the more acceptable; not sway'd to vanity, born to a solid prudence, whom to name might be injurious: for he that is described ingenuously, may be known without a name.

But the highest Empire over your affections, is deservedly challenged alone by the most worthy Consort of your Royal Bed, Her self likewise proceeding from a long descent of Kings. But sufficient is to know she is THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY THE GREAT, AND THE SISTER OF LEWIS THE JUST; Whom, for dearest Pledges already of either Sex; for the comeliness of chastest graces, and (which chiefly blesseth the Nuptial Bed) For congruity of dispositions, Your Majesty so religionsly and so particularly doth love, that justly you appear to have passed from the Title of the best Patron to that of the best Husband.

To Ghastity, you have added Temperance, her nearest Companion: which in miserable and impotent men, who would not pass by with silence? but these in a King! in one so young! of such vigorous age! and in such a promptness of fatisfying all desires, I know not whether we should more commend or admire them. Now, after these Elogies (which in part beget affection, in part also associations in the property of the pushess of your times, were most unjust. Yet shall I not think amiss to repeat a little at large, a thing of noble

noble example, in a person of obscure condition. There fell out at London, I know not what tumult. for one rescued from the Serjeants hands, whom for Debt they were leading to Prison. Amidst those confusions, one or other (as oft it chances) died of fudden hurts; whereupon one John Scamford, a man of a ready hand (who had fatally run into the broyl) was apprehended as guilty of Murther : He wanted not intercessors of great Power about your Majesty; and there seemed an assured hope of obtaining his Pardon (as the vulgar believed) because he had attended on the Duke of Buckingham in his Chamber, and among the followers of his own condition, had been for some time very acceptable to his Lord, for his fingular Ability of Body, and skill in Wrestling, whereof the remembrance as then was fresh, which perchance had made the poor man the more audacious. But meither the intercessions of the living, nor the mans own well-known valour, nor finally the remembrance of fuch a Favourite but lately dead, whom he had ferved, could prevail with your Majesty above Justice, but that (which is glorious to fpeak) he concluded his life at the Gallows, Fresher is the remembrance of that Nobleman's Death, a Baron of very ancient Lineage, who suffered publickly for a Fact, unworthy of his Birth. But, if a witty Authors old Observation may yet have place, that fome examples are nobler, others greater, I should verily believe the Barons Nobler, but Stamford's Greater.

But whither doth this pleafant Meditation transport me, while I revolve these things? At Common Law Your Majesty hath in the Courts of strict Justice, able Judges, which pronounce severely:

you

. you have also a most learned Chancellour for Right and Equity (not inferiour to the ancient Pretors) who, for the Peoples relief, qualifieth that feverity; But these are in distinct Courts placed apart. And if one should ask by chance. Why not together, fince that might feem the more dispatching way? I will deliver my opinion: It was the Wish of our Ancestors (out of a most grave Providence) that Justice and Lenity, which have their feat difjoyned in the inferiour Magistrate, might be confociated in the only brest of the Sovereign. truly fo it is; for your Majesty being composed as it were, according to the wishes of those our Fore-Fathers, hath so tempered these together, that neither the evil prefume, nor the good repine. Hitherto I would be understood to have only spoken of the restraint of common vices, which swarm in all Parts of the World; for of more hainous transgreffions among our felves (by God's goodness) we have not a word, no not fo much as a dream : we fuffer under an excellent ignorance: we know not what a Rebel is; what a Plotter against the Common-weal: nor what that is, which Grammarian call Treason; the names themselves are antiquated with the things : and (in truth) no marvel ; for, what wretch (unless he were of all mortal men the most stupid and wicked, and as foolish as malicious) would violate the quiet of fo Just and Pious a Moderator?

Now as you maintain your Justice, (which I may call the health of your Kingdom) in a most even balance, that is neither too much stretching, nor slackning the Reins; so neither do you oratt what concerneth security; The like else would be fall Empires that happens to our Bodies, which sub-

fift dangerously, if nothing but meer health sustain. them. Wherefore after a War with two mighty Kings together, with various event (as it chances in humane affairs) and quieted by new Confederations on either fide; your principal care at home. was to repair the Maritime strength, as became the Defender of Infular Kingdoms. Hence was the Navy Royal yearly more increased and furnished; and more commodious Harbours chofen for the Ships, and of readier iffue upon fudden occasion; Your Majesty not only commanding, but with your own eyes surveying the places, as if in a matter of that moment you might scarce trust another mans : Then a more exact view of Arms than formerly had been used, and generally the Militia at set times much better trained.

Amidst these things, it were unhandsom to pass by with silence that which the prudent of the time have noted; namely, that Your Majesty is more frequent at the Councels of State (as we call them) than any of our former Kings, except happily we cast back our eyes upon Edward the Sixth, whom they say, even in his Child-hood, to have been seldom

absent.

In that affembly of your Councel, the chief Prelates add reverence, the Nobles chosen out of both

Kingdoms dignity.

Some are there, whom foreign experience, fome whom the knowledge of our Laws adorns: and the learned and faithful Sagacity of your Secretaries watched over all accidents; but above these, the presence it self of the Soveraign breathes alwayes, I know not what of happiness. Your presence only, have I said? That is little; yea, of those who participate in your Counsels, have I many

many times heard (not uninquisitive, I acknowledge, for which pardon me, I beseech you) how attentively (as often you are pleased to be present) you revolve things propounded; how patiently you hear; with how sharp judgment you ponder the particulars; how stiff you are (for I will use no milder word) in good resolutions, and how stout

in great.

Finally, In fecret affairs, what a close fecrecy you command, and how feverely you exact an account thereof; in this also, your own example leading your Commandment. For besides other, there are two things which your Majesty hath most bleffedly bound together; namely, There was never Prince since the Constitution of Empires, a safer preferver of a fecret, and yet none whose secrecy and slence we less may fear; which we read anciently noted of that excellent man Julius Agricola, who was the first Roman that invaded the skirts of your Caledonia: for your Majesty doth not nourish secretly in your bosome fierce and crafty thoughts, nor cover the embers of offence till they break forth into. heat; but out of a high and most noble Candor, if any chance to be conceived, Your Majesty vents them. and (as I may fay) exhales them. Truly, I confess, I do not more willingly infift in the reverence of any of your Vertues, than in this very attribute of your heroical ingenuity: for as the supreme Character of the MOST HIGH is Verity : fo what can more become or more magnificently deck his REPRESENTANTS on earth, than Veracity it felf?

Hitherto we have observed your obsequiousness towards your Parents, constancy towards your Friends, fidelity towards your Consort, and to-

wards cherishing of the Commonwealth, not only the affection of a King, but of a Father. Neither amidst these ( as the condition of the times , and the perplexed state of things would bear) did you neglect the offices of an excellent Brother towards . your only Sifter, whom I have always thought the only Person of her Sex, greater than all troubles, and even by her obscurity the more resplendent indeed, placed within the chances of Fortune, but out of her command: Whom how much Your Majesty loves nav. how much you efteem, did appear by a late Ambaffage, when in the depth of her Widow mournings, your Majesty, to carry her consolations, sent the chief of your Nobility, and him a Personage of most ancient vertue and behaviour; that to a most affectionate Legation, fome addition might be made of Dignity from the choice it felf of the Ambalfador. This of Consolation.

Concerning her Support : did not Your Majesty give leave to a Marquels of the chief Nobility in Scotland, though tied here to your Person by near and assiduous Attendance, to exercise his valour abroad? through intricacies most studied, in such a ftop of paffages; through hazards by Sea and Land; through Places and Towns befet with Plague and Famine: where it was almost easier to conquer, than to get entrance, and harder to fuffer, than to act? If after this, Success was wanting, yet was not the generous affection of a King; not the valour of his Subjects; not expences of divers kinds; not Legations (the while) upon Legations, to appeale (if it were possible) by equal conditions, and by friendly Treaty, the frenzy of the time : for the rest, we must repose our selves in Solon's advice, Let no man

plory before his End.

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Now amongst so many cares (wherewith even the best of Kings are chiefly opprest) it will not be unpleasant to enquire a little, how elegantly Your

Majesty doth dispose your vacant hours.

You delight in the use of the great Horse, whom already dressed, no man doth more skilfully manage; or better break, if rough and surious: Insomuch, as I doubt whether it were more aptly or deservedly done of him, who hath lately erected an Equestrian Statue to Your Majesty of solid Brass, the lively

work of Listerins.

To this I must add Musick, both Instrumental and Vocal, which under you grows every day more harmonious and accurate, as being fitted to the judgment of your ear. This (lest it should feem too tender a delight) you temper as it were with hunting. In which Image of War you do so exercise your vigorous spirits, that it is hard to say, whether you love the pleasure more, or the labour, or whether you had rather wish the killing, or the long standing of the Game.

But the most splendid of all your entertainments, is your love of excellent Artificers, and Works wherewith in either Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have so adorned your Palaces, that Italy, (the greatest Mother of Elegant Arts) or at least (next the Grecians) the principal Nursery, may seem by your magnificence to be translated into

England.

What can be more delightful than those sights?
nay, I am ready to ask, what more learned than to behold the tongueless eloquence of lights and shadows, and the silent Poesse of lines, and (as it were) living Marbles? Here would the spectator swear the limbs and muscles design'd by Timores to

move; there the Birds of Baffano to chirp, the Oxen bellow, and the Sheep to bleat: Here the faces of Refael to bre the and those of Tinian even to speak : there a man would commend in Correggio delicateness, in Parmesano concinnity. Neither do the Belgians want their praise; who if they paint Landskips, all kind of vegerables feem in their verdure; the flowers do finile, the hills are raised, the valleys in dep effion: In your Statuary works the like learned variety; of which some glory in a kind of vivacity, some in tenderness of parts; but those are the entertainment of your eye. Now to recreate your mind, fometimes a Book of choicest subject; but oftnest, Men you read, knowing full well how much it doth import a Prince to understand the conditions of his People. There are times also when you refresh your thoughts in the rehearfal of some ancient Epigrams, with no less acuteness than they were composed.

Thus have I cu forily ran over your ferious times, and your remissions: but the very pleasure I have taken in passing through these, though but very lightly, doth (1 know not how) insuse into my pen, now in motion, a new spirit, to represent (with Your Majestie's leave) though it be but to my felf, your true Portraicture in little, and (as it were) in one short view together, which I thus conceive in

my fancy.

I may fay your stature is next a just proportion; your body erect and active; your colour or complexion hath generally drawn more from the white Rose of York, than the red of Lancaster; your hair nearer brown than yellow; your brow proclaimeth much sidelity; a certain verecundious generosity graceth your eyes, not such as we read of

Sylla,

Sylla, but of Pompey; in your galtures nothing of affectation; in your whole afpect no swelling, nothing boysterous, but an alluring and well becoming snavity: your afactity and vigour, the celerity of your motions discovers; otherwise your affections are temperate, and demeanour well fetled; most firm to your purposes and promises, loving Truth, hating Vice; Just, Constant, Couragious, and not simply so, but knowingly Good.

Such you are; and being fuch; with what applause shall we receive you! Me thinks I see, when fometimes I compare together horrid and quiet Times, as often as Rich. the Third return'd, perchance from his York or further off, to London, and affembled his Peers about him; how the heads of Noblemen did hang! how pale their cheeks! what folicitous suspicions and murmurs they conferred together; as if fuddenly fome difmal Comet or inauspicious Star had risen above the Horizon! But contrariwise, the return of a just, and a good Prince, is in truth nothing elfe but the very approach of the Sun, when with his vernal beams he doth expel the deformed sinter and with a gentle heat doth comfort and similarate all things about us.

Live therefore, O King, to all that are good, most grateful. But in what wishes shall I end? After Trajan's times there was among the Ancients (with whose example smitten, I have too boldly undertaken this small labour) under every renewhed Emperour a form of acclamation in this kind, Long maist thou live, Antonius; Long maist thou reign, Theodosius; Happier than Adgustus, Betater than Trajan: but let this be the concluding

Character of your Majesties time; That the Thing's we can wish, are fewer than those we traise.

Wherefore, when I have out of an ardent zeal only wished this, that Charles our excellent King and Master may reign and live like himself alone, and long;

Be this the Conclusion, In what transeendent happiness were we, If know we would how fortunate we be?

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Robert Devereux Earle of Effex.

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# ROBERT DEVEREUX,

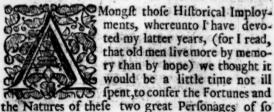
Earl of ESSEX;

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## GEORGE VILLIARS,

Duke of BUCKING HAM:

Some Observations by way of PARALLEL in the time of their estates of Favour.



the Natures of these two great Personages of so late knowledge. Wherein I intend to do them right with the truth thereof, and my self with the freedom.

The beginning of the Earl of Effex I must attribute wholly or in great part to my Lord of Lei-cester; but yet as an Introducer, or supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I go along, it will easily appear, that he neither lived nor died by his discipline. Always certain it is, that he drew him first into the fatal Gircle from a kind of resolved privateness at his house at Lampsie, in South-Wales ; where, after the Academical life, he had taken fuch a taste of the Rural, as I have heard him fay, fand not upon any flashes or fumes of Melanchol-ly, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood) that he could well have bent his mind to a retired course. About which time, the faid Earl of Leicester bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the Queens favour; which was diverfly interpreted by fuch as thought that great Artizan of Court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affectiorn. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himself the weight of time, and being almost tired (if there be a satiety in Power ) with that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspection which a long indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own eale, to bestow handsomly upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in Sir Walter Raleigh, and having found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himself, he now meant to allie him with this young Earl, who had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said Sir Walter Raleigh was a little before this, whereof I now spake by occasion, much

enough

fallen from his former splendour in Court: yet he still continued in some lustre of a favoured man, like billows that sink by degrees, even when the

wind is down that first stirred them.

Thus runs the discourse of that time at pleasure. Yet I am not ignorant, that there was some good while a very stiff aversation in my Lord of Essex from applying himself to the Earl of Leicester, for what severe conceit I know not; but howsoever, that humour was mollished by time; and by his Mother; and to the Court he came under his lee.

The Duke of Buckingham had another kind of Germination; and furely had he been a Plant, be would have been reckoned among the Sponte nafcentes, for he fprung without any help, by a kind of congenial composure (as we may term it) to the likeness of our late Soveraign and Master of ever bleffed memory; who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to please himself, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically, to his own Idea; delighting first in the choice of the Materials, because he found him susceptible of good form; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects use to do, in the workmanship of his Regal hand: nor staying here, after he had hardned and polished him about ten years in the School of observance, (for fo a Court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himself, (for he was a King could perule men as well as books) he made him the affociate of his Heir apparent, together with the now Lord Corringron (as an adjunct of lingular experience and trust) in foreign travels, and in a business of Love, and of no equal hazard (if the tendernels of our zeal did not then deceive is; )

enough (the world must confers) to kindle affection even betwire the distantest conditions; so as by the various and inward conversation abroad, (besides that before and after at home) with the most constant and best natured Prince, Bona si sua norint, as ever England enjoyed, this Duke becomes now secondly seized of favour; as it were by descent (though the condition of that estate be commonly no more than a Tenancy at Will; or at most for the life of the first Lord) and rarely transmitted: which I have briefly set down, without looking beyond the vail of the Temple, I mean, into the secret of high inclinations; since even Satyrical Poets (who are otherwise of so licencious fancy) are in this point modest enough to confess their ignorance.

Nescio quid certe est quod me tibi temperet Astrum.

And these were both their springings and Im-

primings; as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I observe likewise not only much difference between them; but in the Earl, not a little from himself. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very Cradle, by throwing himself into the Portugal Voyage without the Queens consent, or so much as her knowledge; whereby he left his friends and dependants near six months in desperate suspence what would become of him. And to speak truth, not without good reason: For first, they might well consider, That he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a slight: Besides, That now he wanted a Lord of Leicester at home (for he was dead

dead the year before) to smooth his absence, and to quench the practices at Court. But above all. it lay open to every mans discourse, that though the bare offence to his Soveraign and Mistrifs was too great an adventure; yet much more, when fhe might (as in this case) have fairly discharged her displeasure upon her Laws. Notwithstanding. a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excursion was esteemed but a Sally of youth: Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit : whether fuch intermissions as these do sometimes soment affection; or that, having committed a fault, he became the more obsequious and plyant to redeem it : Or that she yet had not received into her Royal brest any shadows of his popularity.

There was another time long after, when Sir Fulke Grevill (late Lord Brook) a man in appearance intrinsecal with him, or at the least admitted to his Melancholy hours, either belike espying some weariness in the Queen, or perhaps (with little change of the word, though more in the danger) some wariness towards him; and working upon the present matter (as he was dexterous and close) had almost super-induced into favour the Earl of Sombampton; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of Essex chose to evaporare his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen, (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voice she took some pleasure; whereof the complot, me thinks, had as much of

the Hermit as of the Poet.

And if thou should'st by her be now for saken, She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken.

As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his former retiredness. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew Tart, as being now in the Lees of favour, it brake forth into certain sudden recesses; sometimes from the Court to Wansteed, otherwhiles unto Greenwich, often to his own Chamber; Doors shut, Visits forbidden, and which was worse, divers Contestations (between) even with the Queen her felf, ( all preambles of ruine; ) wherewith, though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press sowre Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the Counsel of a Wise, and then a Prophetical Friend, who told him, that fuch courses as those were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, will spoil the ftomach.

On the Dukes part, we have no such abrupt strains and precipices as these, but a fair sluent and uniform course under both Kings: And surely, as there was in his natural Constitution a marvellous equality, whereof I shall speak more afterwards; so there was an image of it in his Fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient comparison) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it met with certain Rubs in Parliament, whereof I am induced, by the very Subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shall concern the difference between their times.

When my Lord of Ffex stood in favour, the Parliaments were calm: Nay, I find it a true ob-

fervation, that there was no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King Henry the fixth, until the eighteenth of King James, nor any intervenient precedent of that Nature; not that something or other could be wanting to be faid, while men are men: For not to go higher, we are taught easily so much by the very

Ballads and Libels of the Leicestrian time.

But about the aforesaid Year, many young ones being chosen into the House of Commons, more than had been usual in great Councels, (who though of the weakest wings, yet are the highest Flyers) there arose a certain unfortunate and unfruitful Spirit in some places; not sowing, but picking at every stone in the Field rather than tending to the general Harvest. And thus far the consideration of the Nature of the Time hath transported me, and the occasion of the Subject.

Now on the other side, I must with the like liberty observe two weighty and watchful Solicitudes (as I may call them) which kept the Earl in extreme and continual Caution, like a Bow still bent; whereof the Duke's thoughts were abso-

lutely free.

First, he was to wrestle with a Queens declining, or rather with her very setting Age (as we may term it,) which, besides other respects, is commonly even of it self the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most part all Horizons are charged with certain Vapours towards their Evening.

The other was a matter of more Circumstance,

standing thus, viz.

All Princes, especially those whom God hath

not bleffed with natural iffue, are by wiftom of State) fomewhat thy of their Successor; and to speak with due Reverence, there may be reasonably supposed in Queens Regnant; a first proportion of tenderness that way, more than in Kings. Now there were in Court two names of Power, and almost of Faction; the Escain, and the Cecilian, with their adherents; both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding (correspondency with some of the principal in Scotland, and had received advertisements and instructions, either from them, or immediately from the King, as indubitate Heir of this Imperial Crown.

But left they might detect one another; this was Mysteriously carried by several instruments and conducts, and on the Essexian size; in truth, with infinite hazard: for Six Robert Cecil, who (as Secretary of State) did dispose the publick Addresses, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either part, as the story following shall

declare.

The Earl of Effex had accommodated Master Anthony Bacon in partition of his House, and had affigeed him a noble entertainment: this was a Gentleman of impotent seet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences with Scotland; who being of a provident nature (contrary to his Brother the Lord Viscount St. Albani) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could much amend his Fortunes under the Cecilians (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood also) and who had made (as

he was not unwilling should be believed) some great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he present do far, and with such tokens and figns of apparent discontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, (who was of the party, and flood himfelf in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flyes presently to my Lord of Effex (with whom he was commonly prime admissionis, by his bed side in the morning) and tells him, that unless that Gentleman were presently fatisfied with some round summ, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him Effex-House; which the good old Lady Walsingham did afterwards dis-ingage out of her own store with 2500 pound: and before, he had distilled 1500 pound at another time by the same skill. So as we may rate this one Secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in present money, besides at the least 1000 pound of annual pension to a private and bed-rid Gentleman . What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business?

There was another accident of the fame nature on the Cecilian fide, much more pleasant, but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but wit. The Queen having for a good while not heard any thing from Scotland, and being thirsty of news, it fell out that her Majesty going to take the air towards the Heath (the Court being then at Greenwich ) and Master Secretary Cecil then attending her, a Post came crossing by, and blew his Born : The Queen out of curiofity asked him from whence the Dispatch came; and being answered, From Scotland.

land; the stops the Coach, and calleth for the Pack-The Sectetary, though he knew there were in it some Letters from his Correspondents, which to discover, were as so many Serpents; yet made more shew of diligence, than of doubt to obey; and asks fome that stood by (forfooth in great hast) for a knife to cut up the Packet (for otherwife he might perhaps have awaked a little apprehension; ) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty diftance from the Queen, he telleth her, it looked and fmelt illfavouredly, coming out of a filthy budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew the was averse from ill scents. And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to fever what he would not have feen.

These two accidents, precisely true, and known to sew, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpose, to shew how the Earl stood in certain perplexities, wherewith the Dukes days were not distracted. And this hath been the Historical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the rising and slowing of their fortunes.

I will now consider their several indowments both of Person and Mind, and then a little of their

Actions and Ends.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler body: But the Duke had the neater limbs and freer delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comely motions; for the Earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards, than downwards: and he was so far from being a good Dancer, that

he was no graceful goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintiness of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairness and fine shape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took om his Father For the general Air, the Earl had the closer and more referved Countenance, being by nature fome? what more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at meals, when others are least : Infomuch, as he was wont to make his observation of himfelf, that to folve any knotty bufinels which cumbred his mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his first appetite with two or three morfels, after which he fate usually for a good while filent: yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention, which shewed that when he lifted, he could license his thoughts.

The Duke on the other side, even in the midst of so many diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant face (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a singular assurance in his temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer Elogy, which the malignest eye cannot deny him, That certainly, never man in his place and power, did entertain greatness more familiarly, nor whose looks were less tainted with his felicity; wherein I insist the rather, because this in my judgement was one of his greatest vertues and victories of him-

felf.

But to proceed, in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeness, and upon occasion costly, as in his Legations.

The Earl, as he grew more and more attentive

to business and matters, so less and less curious of clothing: Infomuch, as I do remember, those about him had a conceit, that possibly sometimes when he went up to the Oneen, he might feant know what he had on; for this was his manner: His Chamber being commonly flived with Friends or Suiters of one kind or other, when he was up, he gave his legs, arm, and breft to his ordinary fervants to button and drefs him, with little heed. his head and face to his Barber, his eyes to his letters and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once; then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his Closet, and after a short prayer, he was gone: only in his Baths, he was fomewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both very inordinate in their appetites, especially the Earl, who was by nature of fo indifferent a tafte, that I must tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would from in the midft of any physical Potion, and after be had licked his lips, he would drink of the rest ; but I am weary of fuch flight Animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of

their Minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at study in Cambridge very young by the Lord Burleigh, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the overlight of Doctor Whirgift, then Master of Trinity College, and after Archbishop of Camerbury: A man (by the way) surely of most Reverend and Sacred memory, and (as I may well say) even of the Primitive temper; when the Church by lowliness of spirit; did flourish the high examples: which I have inserted as a due

due recordation of his vertues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About fixteen years of his age, (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of Master of Arts, and kept his Publick Acts. And here I must not smoother what I have received by constant Information, That his own Father died with a very cold conceit of him; some say, through the affection to his second son Walter Devereux, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture. But it seems, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly; Nature sometimes delighting to play an after-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turns and tides in course.

The Cu've was Illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sist and question well, and to supply his own defects, by the drawing or slowing unto him of the best instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publick or his own proper use; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the

Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the Dake his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation of his after proof; such a Solar influence there is in the Soveraign aspect. For their Abilities of discourse or pen; the Earl was a very acute and sound speaker when he would intend it; and for his writings, they are

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beyond example, especially in his familiar Letters and things of delight at Court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of entertainment, and above all in his darling piece of love, and self love; his Stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldom any bold Metaphors; and so far from Tumour; that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Dekes delivery of his mind, I conceive not to be so sharp, as solid and grave; not so solid and deep, as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The Earl Laccount the more liberal, and the Duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my Lord of Effex in all his life time did build or adorn any house, the Queen perchance spending his time, and himself his means; or otherwise inclining to popular ways a for we know the people are apter to applaud house-keepers, than house-raisers. They were both great cherishers of Scholars and Divines; but it seems the Earl had obtained of himfelf one fingular point. that he could depart his affection between two extreams: for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards Dr. Whitgift, both before and after he was Archbishop; yet on the other side, he did not a little love and tender Mr. Carewright, though I think truly, with large distinction between the Persons and the Causes, however he was taxed with other ends in respecting that Darty.

They were both fair-spoken Gentleman, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; and in this the Earl hath been most faisly blemished

in our vulgar Story: only against one man he had forsworn all patience, namely Henry Lord Cobham, and would call him (per Excellentiam) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queen her felf, though of no small infinuation with her; and one Lady likewise (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her fex sake) whom he used to term the Spider of the Court: yet generally in the sensitive part of their Natures, the Earl was the worst Philosopher, being a great Resenter, and a weak Dissembler of the least disgrace: And herein likewise, as in the rest, no good Pupil to my Lord of Leicester, who was wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the fwifter, and much the greater; for from a younger Brothers mean estate, he rose to the highest degree whereof a Subject was capable, either in Title or Trust. Therein I must consess, much more consortable to Charles Brandon under Henry the Eight, who was equal to him in

both.

For matter of Donative and addition of subflance, I do not believe that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered, under both Kings.

For that which the Earl of Effex had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices, and the disposition of great Summs of money in her Armies, was (about the time of his Arraignment, when faults use to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thousand, pounds sterling in pure gift for his only use, by the Earl of Dorfet, then Lord Treasurer; who was a wise man, and a strict Computist, and not well affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note

in the Margent of both Times, that the one was profecuted with filence, and the other with murmur; So undoing a measure is popular judgment!

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in establishing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the first: the Duke had a care to introduce into near place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very sound and grave Personages. Whereas, except a Pensioner or two, we can scant name any one man advanced of the Earls breeding, but Sir Thomas Smith, having been his Secretary; who yet came never surther (though married into a noble House) then to the Clerk of the Councel, and Register of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to stand alone like a Substantive (for he was not so ill a Grammarian in Court;) but the Truth is, in this point, the Cecilians kept him back, as very well knowing that upon every little absence or disassiduity, he should be subject to take cold at his back.

For the other, in the managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wisdom; for the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and dispersed with his own hands ut large; though till his going to Ireland they were but aiery objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his ease to do him that kind of Service, he refused it with a pretty kind of thankful scorn, saying, that he would trust his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he saw no first of Apologies, but the multiplying of dis-

discourse; which furely was a well settled Max-And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory in the expression of Tacitus, Neque injuria, neque beneficio, saving that he shewed me an ordinary good Countenance: And if I were, yet I would distinguish between Gratitude and Truth) I must bear him this Testimony, that in a Commission laid upon me by Soveraign Command to examine a Lady about a cerain filthy accusation, grounded upon nothing but few fingle names taken up by a Foot-man in a kennel, and streight baptized, (A list of such as the Duke had appointed to be poisoned at home, himself being then in Spain:) I found it to be the most malicious and frantick surmize, and the most contrary to his nature, that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howfor ever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Physician even in print; and yet of this would not the Duke fuffer any answer to be made on his behalf, so constant he was to his own principles.

In their Military Services, the Characters of the Earls imployments were these, viz.

His forwardest, was that of Portugal, before

mentioned.

The faddest, that of Roan, where he lost his

brave Brother.

His fortunatest piece I esteem the taking of Cadia Malez, and no less modest; for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his Omissions.

His jealousest imployment was to the relief of Calais, belieged by the Cardinal Arch-duke: about which.

which, there passed then between the Queen and

the French King much Art.

His Voyage to the Azores was the best, for the discovery of the Spanish weakness, and otherwise almost a saving Voyage.

His blackest was that to Ireland, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his

own Fortunes.

But the first, in 88, at Tilbury Camp, was in my judgment, the very posson of all that followed for there whilest the Queen stood in some doubt of a Spanish invasion (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court,) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of Leicejier: the truth is, from thenceforth he fed too fast.

The Duke's imployment abroad in this nature, was only in the Action of the Ife of Reez, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our Countrey, and of his Majesties times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally " from mif-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wifest and most indifferent men, of that Action, I dare pronounce, that, all Circumflances pondred, A tumultuary landing on our part, with about 1000 in the whole; On theirs, ready to receive us, some 200 Horse, with near 2000 Foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their Foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and only some of their Horse descryed stragling, but not in any bulk or body; their Cavalry not a Troop of Biscoigners, mounted in haft, but the greater part Gentlemen

of Family, and of Pickt Resolution, and such as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very fea; about fixfcore of their 200 Horse ftrewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great shot; and after this, their Foot likewife coming on to charge, till not liking the business, they fell to flinging of stones, and so walked away.

I fay, these things considered and laid together, we have great reason to repute it a great impression upon an unknown place, and a noble argument, that upon occasion, we have not lost our Ancient vigour. Only I could wish that the Duke, who then in the animating of the Souldiers shewed them very eminent affurance of his valour, had afterwards remembred that rule of Apelles, Manum de Tabula. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publick ends, and too confident in the prosperity of beginnings, as somewhere Polybins, that great Critique of war, observeth of young Leaders, whom fortune hath not before deceived.

In this their Military care and dispensation of reward and punishment, there was very few remarkable occasions under the Duke saving his continual vigilancy and voluntary hazard of his person, and kindnesses to the Souldiers, both from his own table and purse; for there could be few disorders within an Island where the Troops had no scope to disband, and the Inferiour Commanders were still

in fight. John and and avoids ton molas and? the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hand out of a Ship; the other in Trelanda where he decimated certain

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Troops

Troops that ran away, renewing a piece of the

Roman Discipline.

On the other fide, we have many of his Lenity, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold Trespass of Sir Walter Raleigh, who before his own arrival at Fayall, had landed there against his precise Commandment; at which time he let fall a Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martial Court: That I would do (said he) if he were my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last act,

which was written in the Book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad, but when I came home (though little was left for Writers to glean after Judges) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe; and I must, according to my professed freedom, deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confessions.

There was amongst his nearest attendants, one Henry Cusse, a man of secret Ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsels smothered under the habit of a Scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the

semblance of integrity.

This Person, not above five or six weeks before my Lords fatal irruption into the City, was by the Parls Special Command suddenly discharged from all surther attendance, or access noto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp

and importune infusions, and out of a glimmering oversight, that he would prove the very instrument of his ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same time my Lord hath received from the Countess of Warwick (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a vertuous user of her power) the best advice that I think was ever given from either Sex; That when he was free from Restraint, he should closely take any out-lodging at Greenwich, and sometimes when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, (whereof she would give him notice) he should come forth, and humble himself before Her in the Field.

This Councel funk much into him, and for some dayes he resolved it: but in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of Southampton, whom Cusse had gained, he was restored to my Lords ear, and so working advantage upon his difgraces, and upon the vain soundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the sinal destruction of his Master and himself, and almost of his Restorer, if his pardon had not been

won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in West minster-Hall did in general disclose the evil perswasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related of his dismission and restitution, he buried in his own brest for some reasons apparent enough; indeed (as I conjecture) not to exasperate the Case of my Lord of Southampton, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollisted his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible means from the person himself that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried the

the discharge to Cusse, who in a private Chamber was strucken therewith into a swoun almost dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from some high Steeple: such Turrets of hope he had built in his own Fancy.

Touching the Duke's sudden period, how others have represented it unto their fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I must confess from my soul, that I never recal it to mind without a deep and double assonishment of my discourse and

reafon.

First of the very horror and atrocity of the Fact in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Government; but much more at the impudency of the pretence, whereby a desperate discontented Assassing a would after the perpetration have honested a meer private revenge (as by precedent circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publick respects, and would fain have given it a Parliamentary cover. Howsoever, thus these two great Peers were disrobed of their Glory; the one by judgment, the other by violence, which was the small distinction.

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities (for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for Rapsody than Commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a summary view of their Conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both slept long in the arms of Fortune: They were both of ancient blood, and of Foreign extraction: They were both of straight and goodly stature, and of able and active bodies: They

were both industrious and assiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privy-Councellors, and imployed at home in the fecreteft and weightiest affairs in Court and State: They were both likewise Commanders abroad in Chief. as well by Sea, as by land : both Mafters of the Horse at home, both chosen Chancellours of the fame University, namely, Cambridge: They were both indubitable strong, and high-minded men; yet of fweet and accostable Nature, almost equally delighting in the press and affluence of Dependants and Suiters: which are always the Burs, and fometimes the Briers of Favourites. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and fole Heirs, and left issue of their Sex, and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent examples of Temperance and Sobriety; but neither of them of Continency.

Lastly, after they had been both subject (as all Greatness and Splendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions; They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnatural ends, and with no great distance of time in the space either of life or

favour.

And so having discharged this poor Exercise of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit those two noble Peers to their Eternal rest, with their memorable abilities remaining in few, and their compassionate infirmlyies common to all.

# ARE ENERGY OF A CONTROL OF A CO

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# DIFFERENCE

#### DISPARITY

Estates and Conditions

GEORGE Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

AND

### ROBERT

Earl of ESSEX;

Written by the Earl of Clarendon in his younger dayes.

Hough it shall appear an unseasonable itch of Wit to say ought in this Subject, and an unskilful one, if invention reach not what is already said, with all the swelling Elogies that shall attend all that fall from that Zen; yet I shall presume (disavowing only the vanities)

to think that in the severest considerations of their Persons, in their Educations, in their Insumations into savour, in managing that Favour, in their whole Education (but that they were both glorious in the eyes of their Princes) they were as distant, as unsit, as impossible for Parallels, as any two vertuous and great persons (for so they were both) we can direct our discourse to. Their ingagements, incumbrances, and disadvantages, being so different, that it was the just wonder (and yet continues) of the world, that the Earl could ever fall, (his whole fate being in the discretion of his own soul;) and the Duke (who all his life of savour stood the mark shot at by the most petulant and malicious spirits this Climate ever nourished) could stand so long.

He that shall walk in a short survey of both their times, actions, and dependencies, shall find them these.

Though the first approach of the Earl to Court was under the shadow of the Great Earl of Leicester, yet he owned him rather for his invitation thicker, than his

preferment there.

For no question be found advantage from the stock of his Fathers Reputation; the people looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young Nobleman had yet surprised their hopes, or drawn their eyes) and on his youth with pity; for they were nothing satisfied concerning his Fathers death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers by the mediation of such as delighted not in his company; as it was the mysterious wisdom of those times to poyson with oyl, & homines per honores serire. And if there were not any such compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the son of an excellent man, that died in her service, and had left a precious same surviving.

In the Court he stayed not above a year, but undertook that journey into the Low Countreys with his Father-inTaw, and went General of the Horse in a great Army, though he was not full nineteen years of age; there being then no such Criticisms as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest dignity and command, a conspiracy against the State; but all men were glad to see him set himself so brave a task, by undertaking such an

Imployment.

From this first action he took a Charter of the peoples hearts, which was never cancell'd; but as if they had looked only on the boldness, not the success of his enterprises, he was sure to return with triumph, though the Voyage misearried: for amongst all his foreign undertakings, if they be weighed in the peoples usual Scale, the Cost, though there was not above one or two prosperous returns, and as many that had sad and calamitous issues; yet he never suffered the least publick imputation or murmur; but was received with that joy, as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him home, not any spoil or conquest, (to which he had wholly dedicated his faculties.)

He moved only in his proper Orb; out of it he was extra sphæram activitatis, and rather of much business, (as a man towards whom the Queen had dirested some rayes of affection) than of much dexterity above other

men.

Surely, I by no means imagine him built or furnished

for a Courtier.

For however the Arts and mysteries of a Court are undesinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of all Sciences, there are certain principles and maximes unalterable and unquestionable, so there is accrtain comparity, conformity, and complacency in the manners and a discreet subtilty in the composition, without which (as with those principles) no man in any Age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulical sunction.

Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, bis

servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his nature) well discerned, when he said, Amorem & odium semper in fronte

geffit, nec celare novit.

And I shall not impute it to his want of will (though that would be but an ill argument, for his Courtship) nor of power, for he did many greater things; but only of skill to contrive conveniences of honours and preferments at Court, for such friends as might have been good outworks to have fortisted and secured his own condition, except all his dependants were of another complexion than could have lived in that Air.

And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or desired the reputation of a Courtier, besides the preservation of himself, and the Queens affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to master, than to win;) but he seemed, though he had such places of honour and attendance as he the most significant hadges of a Courtier, but in pace helli genere negotium, and retired only

from the War to prevent Peace.

Then if we vifit his correspondencies abroad (which he rather maintained out of face, than contrived out of skill) we shall see they were always with an eye upon actions, and his Intelligences had ever some hint of Tumult and Commotion; as if the King of Spain was loud or frantick at his devotions, as when he vowed at Mass, that he would be reveng'd of England, shough be fold all shofe Candlesticks upon the Altar : This information was given by the Earl. But it was observed then, that if there were ought intended against the Life or Person of the Queen, though it were in the Court of Spain, where the Earl had especially his Leigiers, the first notice came over by my Lord Cecil, for whom (indeed) it seemed as netessary there should be treasons, as for the State that they should be prevented. Insomuch as it was then (bow unjuft ly justly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet be fomented some conspiracies, hat he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty, having no other advantage (as the Earl and other's had in person) to justifie him in an ordinary estimation, but by eminent services.

And those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own preservation, and therefore in the least vacations from Treasons, he was ever busic to set on foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such that had a peculiar eye to the Queens safety. Which (however they are by such as cannot apprehend the danger of those times, tooked upon without much reverence) could not but make singular impression in the Queens heart of his sidelity.

The Incumbrances that the Earl had to wrestle withal (for I shall only look over his life without particular enquiry into his actions, which had all glorious ends, or glorious intentions) were fewer than ever any great man ever met withal, and his advantages more in number;

and in weight.

Tis true, he was rivall'd by a strong and subtile faction, which cared and consulted for his ruin, as a foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and missinterpret him at home: yet the danger was thus allay d, that they were all his publique and professed enemies, and so known unto the Queen, that they durst never impertinent urge ought against him, since they were sure their malice was concluded, when the reason of their objection happily might not be considered.

And indeed, that trick of countenancing and protetting fattions (as that Queen almost her whole Reigh did with singular and equal demoustration of grace look upon several persons of most distinct wishes one rowards another) was not the least ground of much of her quiet and success. And she never doubted but that men that were never so opposite

in their good will each to others, nor never so dishonest in their projectments for each others confusion, might yet be reconciled into their Allegiance towards her. Insomuch, that during her whole Reign, she never endeavoured to reconcile any personal differences in the Court, though the unlawful emulations of persons of nearest trust about her, were even like to overthrow some of her chiefest designs. A Policy seldom entertained by Princes, especially if they have issues to survive them.

Among the advantages the Earl had (and he had many that will distinguish him from any man that hath, or is likely to succeed him) I shall rank the nature and the spirit of that time in the first place. For I shall not mention his Interest in the Queens favour, till the last, which shall appear greatest by the circumstances that lost

st.

Twas an ingenuous un-inquisitive time, when all the passions and affections of the people were lapped up in such an innocent and humble obedience, that there was never the least contestations, nor capitulations with the Queen, nor (though she very frequently consulted with her Subjects) any further reasons urged of her actions, than her own will.

When there were any grievances, they but reverently conveyed them to her notice, and left the time and order of the rest to her Princely discretion. Once they were more importunate and formal in pursaing the complaints of the Purveyors for Provision, which without question was a crying and an heavy oppression: The Queen sent them word, they all thought themselves wise enough to reform the misdemeanours of their own families, and wish't that they had so good opinion of her, as to crust her with her servants too. I do not find that the Secretary who delivered this defsage, received any reproach or check, or that they presended any further in their inquisition. In this excellent

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time the Queens remarkable Grace indeared the Earl to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender estimation neither was this affection of theirs ever an objection against him, till himself took too much notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her people without the least scruple of jealousie nor was ever offended if he was the darling of their eyes, till she suspected he inclined to be the darling of their hearts.

In his Friendsbips be was so fortunate, that though he contracted with ancient enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness, as grievom as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his truft, or had everhis secretsderived unhandsomly to any ears that they were not intended to: and this if he had not planted himself upon such whose zeal to his service was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preferved him

from so prodigious a face.

Lastly hehad so strong an harbourinthe Queensbreak. that notwithstanding these dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his recreations and shooting-matches to the publicative view of so many thousand Citizens, which usually slocked to see him, and made within the reach of his own ears large acclamations in his praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that shadow bringing into the Court, divers persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in prison for Suspicion of Treason, as Captain Wainman; and then bis glorious feather-triumph, when he canfed two thousand Orange-tawny Feathers in despight of Sir Walter Raleigh, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before Her Majesties own face (all which would have found regret in the stomachs of most Princes :) yet neither these, nor any whispers that were destill d into the Queens ears (for ought appears ) ever lessened him in her Highness's regard till he committed such strange mistakes as ever have been

Prosecuted with most exemplary punishments by the Laws themselves: which (though in jealousse of Princes, they of compound Treasons out of circumstances of possibilities) yet are as tender of the reputation of great

men as in any Common-wealth what foever.

If toward his period the Queen grew a less merciful interpreter of his failings and successes; 'twas when she believed he grew too familiar, and in love with his passions, and had a mind not to be satisfied but upon his conditions, and too insensible of his own errors. And (truly) that would not be unfiely applyed to him that was once faid of the terrible Mountford Earl of Leicester, in the reign of Henry the Third; (though nothing be more horrible to me than the peculancy of that wit, which for an unhandfom jest, would accuse him of a purpose to be King (for doubtless in his solemn purposes he π as of a firm & unshaken allegiance) that he had a spirit too great for a Subjest. For besides that he look'd from above, and with a displeasure that had a mixture of scornmore than anger upon such as courted not his protection, his talk was in an high and unufual dialect; he took much delight to discover an hatred (like a contempt) of the King of Spain, and would often mention his person as familiarly as Luther did our Henry the Eight; and as Fox begins his Book against the Pope with the first lines of Tullies Oration awould write in his ordinary Letters, and publish in his Apology, I will teach that proud King to know, &c. Which sounded possibly not so acceptable tothe Queen her self, who though the were perfect enough in her dislike to that King, thought that the greatest Subjects ought not to approach the infirmities or the mention of any King without some reverence. And the Earl in his zeal to the Hollanders ( when the great design was to mediate a Truce between Spain and them, and almost

the whole Councel board inclin'd that way) would not only in the violence of his opposition shew a distinct to the insolency and tyranny of the Spaniards, but of the very

Government of a Monarchy.

Then his carriage towards the Queen her self was very strange, and his usual converse upon too bold terms, which proceeded not from any distemper but his passions, (though natural choler be but an unruly excuse for roughness with Princes:) but 'twas a way traffick (I know not upon what unlucky success) he had from the beginning fansied, and lasted even to his end. Insomuch, as upon his first restraint, (which was not many monthes before his conclusion) he did somewhat neglect the Queens pardon, because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his Lease of the farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though she intimated to him, that she only deferred that Grace upon the Physicians Maximes: Cor-

pora impura, quo magis pascas, læseris.

Lastly, If ever that uncouth speech fell from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by one that was much conversant then in the secrets of the Court, That the was as crooked in her disposition, as in her carcass ( when baply there was a little unevenness in her shoulders) all my wonder at his destruction is taken from me: and I must needs confess, I am nothing satisfied with that loofe report which hath crept into our discourse, that shortly after bis miferable end, (which indeed deferved compassion from all hearts) I know not upon what unseasonable delivery of a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much reluctancy for his death. I am sure no discovery, no expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the indignity of the Sermon at Pauls Cross, and ser out by Command, or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons; which were two of the most pestilent Libet. against

against his Fame, that any Age hath seen published against any Malefactour, and could not with that deliberation have been contrived, and justified by Authority, had not there been some sparks of indignation in the Queen that were unquenched even with his blood.

'Tis time to call my felf homewards to the view of those considerations, in which will clearly appear the inequality of the Duke's condition, to what hath been sa id of the Earl: and it may be, I have been at my distance too bold an undertaker of these actions, which were performed so many years before my cradle.

I shall not much insift on the Duke's Morning being fo different from that of the Earls as would discountenance all purpofes of bringing them into one circle; he had no fatisfaction in his friendships, or presence in his quality, but was his own Harbinger at Court. For thoughthe Herauld may walk in as large a Field of his Pedegree, as shall concern any Subject, yet that being no in-let to his advancements, or occasion of his favour, I shall leave to such as shall have the preferment to write his Life? Tis truesthat soon after his approach was found to be accepta ble, and that he was like enough to be emertained by Him that had most power to bid him walcome; he received pretty conveniences from the respects of some great men, which at most (being as much out of disaffection to others as tenderness to him) yielded him rather affistance than Support; so that indeed he was (if ever any) Faber fortunæ suæ: and all such as will not be impudent strangers to the discerning spirit of that King who first cherished him cannot but impute it to a certain innate wisdom and vertue that was in him, with which he furprized, and even fascinated all the faculties of his incomparable Master. He was not sooner admitted to stand there in his own right, but the eyes of

all such as either look'd out of judgment, or gazed out of curiosity, were quickly directed towards him, as a man in the delicacy and beauty of his colour, decency and grace of his motion, the most rarely accomplished they had ever beheld; whilest some that found inconveniences in his nearness, intended by some affront to discountenance his effeminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it so terrible a courage as would safely protest all his sweetnesses.

And now he quickly shewed the most glorious Star that ever shined in any Court; insomuch that all Nations prosecured him with love and wonder, as fast as the King with Grace; and to his last he never lost any of his suffre.

His swiftness and nimbleness in rising, may be with less injury ascribed to a Vivacity, than any Ambition in bis nature; since it is certain the Kings eagerness to advance him, so surprized his youth, that he seemed only to submit his shoulders, without resistance to such burdens as his Highness would be pleased to lay on him; and rather to be held up by the violent inclination of the King, then to climb up by any Art or industry of his own: yet once seated, he would not affront that judgment that raised him, by an unseasonable diffidence of himself, but endeavoured with an understanding boldness to manage those imployments which his modesty would never suffer him to court.

During the Reign of his first Master, I cannot but say, be enjoyed an indifferen calm in his Fortune & Favour; for though there were some boisterous interruptions by the clamour of the people, yet shortly again their affections were as violent (and almost as senseles) roward him, as ever their accusations were before or after; Insomuch as the Cheif Rulers among them performed frequent visits to him, when he was somewhat diseased in his health, and out of a zealous care of him, would have begot in himsome jealousie, that his Physicians and nearest Attendants

about him, being (perhaps) of the same Religion with the King of Spain, had a purpose by poison to revenge fome injuries (the fe people had conceived) in the right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Perfonages met, when they were both the Favourites of the Princes, and Darlings of the people: But their affections to the Duke, were but very short lived.

And now 'tis seasonable to say somewhat of the difposition and spirit of this time, since the disparity of those we treat of will be in that discerned, and the Earl be found by fo much to have the advantage that there will be little need of conferring the particulars of their lives. Twas a busie querulous forward time, so much degenes rated from the purity of the former, that the people under presences of Reformation, with some petulant discourses of Liberty (which their great Impostors scattered among them, like false glasses to multiply their fears) begant Abditos Principis census, & quid occultius parat exquirere: extended their enquiries even to the Chamber and private actions of the King himself, forgetting that truth of the Poet,-- Nufquam Libertas gratior extat .- quam sub Rege pio : Twas strange to fee bow men afflitted themselves to find out calamities and mischiefs, whilest they borrowed the name of some great persons to scandal ze the State they lived in : A general disorder throughout the whole body of the Common-wealth; nay the vital part perishing the Laws violated by the judges, Religion prophaned by the Prelates, Herefies crept into the Church and countenanced : and yet all this shall be quickly restified without so much as being beholding to the King, or consulting with the Clergy.

Surely had Petronius now lived he would have found good cause to say, Nostra regio tam præsentibus plena eft numimbus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire. For my pare, whether the frenzy was nourish'din he warm brest of young men (who are commonly too much n love with their own time, to think it capable of reformation;) or whether it was fomented by riper heads, that had miscarried in their propositions of advancement, and are violent in the successes of Queen Elizabeth, or whether it was only the revolution of time that had made them unconcerned in the loyal fears that governed sixty years since, I shall not presume to guess: but shall rather wish for the spirit and condition of that time, as he did for wars and commotions, Quoniam accrisisma Dei stagella sunt, quibus hominum pertinaciam punit, ea perpetua oblivione sepelienda, potius quam

memoriæ mandanda esse.

King James being no sooner dead, but such as had from his beginning impertinently endeavoured to Supplant bim, and found that be was so deeply rooted in his Soveraigns acceptance, that there should be no shaking him with clamorous objections, found some means to commend over his condition and transcendent power, as they termed it as a matter of publick consequence to the people : and from this instant to bisfatal end he stoodas it were opposed notwithstanding all the shelter of the Soveraigns regard, to all the calumnies and obloquies the impudent malice of the Rabble could fling on him: and in all their pretences of Reformation, as if their end were only his hame, not amendment, they rather cudgel than reprehend him. this wild rage (not within the main purpofer of an Apology) I shall give one or two instances, infilling on them only as they were mentioned in the indigested noise of the people, not as they were mar shalled with other imployments in any publick Declaration or Remonstrance.

There were two errours chiefly laid to his charge, and for eagerly urged, that in them he was a most concluded an Enemy to the King and Countrey, which certainly in the next Age will be conceived marvellous strange Objections: the

one being a strong Argument of his Worth, the other a piece of its Reward: the first was the plurality of Ossics, though they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesties own allowance, to acquire to the which there was no condition but his Majesty was a witness, if not a surety for the performance; and yet for the execution of them never man studied more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner Arts to give general content. And here possibly it concerned his Mirth, to see his ambition prosecuted of some who desired to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

The other was the preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty (delighting to give all gracious expression of his affection to the Duke) would (to enliven any branch that grew from the same Stock) confer both Honnour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of offence in the Dukes conscience that he thought he should have sinned against the Law of Nature, and a generous disposition, that it would have been an eternal brandto his name and memory, if being so seized of this great Kings savour, he had no regard but to his own advancement.

And tis not improbable, that his noble care of his Family, confirmed him in the estimation of his Master, who knew that all Fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour-brooks, and could have hoped for little effects from his service, whose care was only directed

for himself.

Now whether the importunate clamour upon these two faults (whereof he found no regret, but comfort in himself) made himso to esteem of the popular discretion, and bonesty; or whether he esteemed it the same ignominy to have his allegiance exalted with blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of Spain) he was called out Redeemer; or to have his mis-fortunes mistaken into dissoyalty, when his

En-

Enterprises succeeded not according to the impossible expectation of the people: certain it is, that all his later time he wholly neglected all compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrutinous enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least blemish of dislike towards any great man, but such as were in the immediate regard and estimation of the King: As if all misdemeanours had beencommitted within the Verge of his

Majesties own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these particulars with the Earl When the noise of the people had disquited him into action from Court (which was his Orb) though he could not put off the place, or rather the Title of Command, he committed himself a most willing Pupil to the directions of such as were generally though sit to manage affairs of that nature: and here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative part, so be improved the courage of the whole Ar-

my by his example.

And surely, there is no cause to doubt, he would in short time have mades of glorious a progress in his prosession (bowever he seemed shaped for easier skirmishes) as the world should have seen that promptness and alaerity in his nature, that could happily have travelled in any path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good men tremble, and Posterity shall start at it: and had he not been marvellously secured in the tranquillity of his own soul from any of that guilt he Rabble had conferred on him, it had been no hard matter to have fortished himself against the knife of a Villain, though it were sharpened in the lewdest forge of revengethe great Patron of Murther hath countenanced since the spilling of the first blood. But he that was unsafe only in the greatness of his own spirit; could not be perswaded to wear any privy-coat, but (which he never put

off) of a good conscience. And the same Providence that conveyed him into grace, with so different marks from other men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the world; and which had been seldome acted, but upon the most Eminent and Honourable Persons of their times.

And here again, he may be faid to meet with the Earl, that they both died by the people, though by very different affections, which continued so preposterous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the Execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy; And Treason upon the Other, conceived Religion; and yet one had the Royal Sacrifice of his Soveragen sorrow, which the other wanted.

In contriving and contracting his Eriendships, he was provident and circumspect enough (as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked his House;) and in the observation of them he was sosewer and real, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the poisson of Noble minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the affections of those he chose, than the Testimony of their own hearts, though this Considence sometimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the day too: For his friends were Skreens between him and envy, and his own instrmities taken from him, and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that ease or being discharged of the burthen that belonged to them, that he was traduced with all the mistakes of all his friends, kindred, and dependants; as if he were the mischievous Azent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

Tis true, they were neither of them much skilled in that Paradox of charity, loving their enemies: and yet the Dukes easiness to reconcilement, and too soon forgetting the circumstances of Grudges, betrayed him of the to the injuries of such as had not the same spirits.

Concerning the parts and endowments of his Mindif the consideration of Learning extendit self not further than drudgery in Bock, the Dukes imployments forbid to Suspect bim for any great Scholar : but if a nimble & fluent expression, and delivery of his Mind (and his discourse was of all Subjects ) in a natural and proper dialect be confidered, be was well lester'd: but if he had that Eloquence of Nature or Art, I am sure he wanted that other accident, (which the best Judge attributed to the Earl as an Eloquence that passed the other two ) the pity and benevolence of his hearers; insomuch that his words & speeches were never entertained with that candour or common charity of Imerpretation, as civilly belongs to all Delinquents: witness that speech in the fulness of his joy be let fall to his Majesty in the behalf of his people, which was immediately perverted and carpt at," as an aggravation of bis other imaginary and fantastick offences.

He was besides not only of an eminent affection to learning, in conferring dignities & rewards upon themostlearned menzeither of which is seldom without judgment, and be was the Governour in a Province of Learning, which was an Argument he confuted the people by, when he suffered himself to be chosen Chancellour of the University of Cambridge, even at the time when they had concluded his destruction, as a man odious to all Subjects.

In his Liberalities and rewards of those he fansied, he was so chearfully magnificent, and so much at the mercy of his Dependants, that if they proved improvident or immodest in their Sutes, the inconveniency and mischief was surely his; insomuch as he seemed wholly possess from himself, and to be only great for their use; and he had then so happy a bravery in deriving of his Favours, and conferred them with so many noble circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter, and mens understandings of t-times as much puzled as their gratitude.

If.

If the Earl sided him here, his bounty fell upon more unthrifty men; for there are many Families owe their large possessions only to the openness of the Dukes hand, though much be lost too in the ingrassitudes of the Receivers.

But that which shined with most lustre in him, & which indeed slowed in his nature much above its proportion in other men, was an admirable affability and gentleness to all men. And this was the pomp and glory of all his Titles; Insomuch as though his Memory were a place so taken so with high thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for matters of so small importance; he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintancee with that familiarity, as if they had been stairs by which heast cended to his greatness.

He had besides such a tenderness and compassion in his nature, that such as think the Laws dead if they are not severely executed, censured him for being too merciful; but his charity was grounded upon a wifer Maxime of State: Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia; quam Medico multa Funera. And he believed doubtless, the Hanging was the worst use man could be put to.

And now, me thinks, to believe a man dreft in all these real ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick to his Country, is as ingenuous as to believe a man of a solemn friendliness to ten thousand men, and of

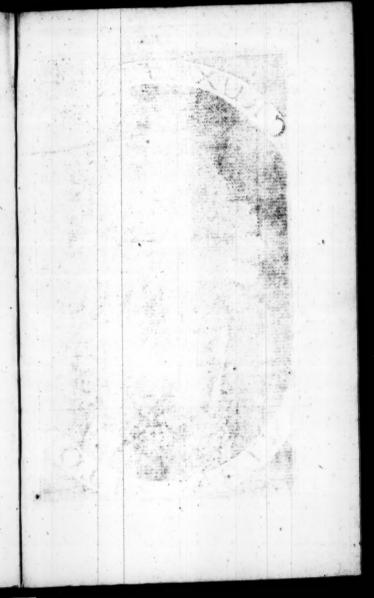
a resolved hatred to mankind.

Of all imputations, that was the most unskilful, which accused him of a purpose and design to enrich himself. Certainly that was never in his vows; and possibly the Auditors of his Revenues do not find his Estate so much increased from the time of his sirft Master, though he enjoyed a glorious Harvest of almost four years; which if it had been brought in to his own use, could not but have made an envious addition. Since then, till their Evenings; these two great Persons can hardly meet:

Let not the violence of their deaths reconcile them, since the same consideration might as well unite the great King of France, and the Marshal Byron, and many

others of more different conditions.

He that shall continue this Argument further, may haply begin his Parallel after their deaths; and not unsity: He may say, that they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories & Families as unrecompenced by such as they had raised. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the one, and defaced the Arms of the other, lest they might be too long suspected for their Dependants, and find disadvantage by being honest to their Memories. He may tell you of some that grew strangers to their houses, lest they might sind the Tract of their own foot-steps, that might upbraid them with their former attendance. He may say, that both their Memories shall have a reverend savoar with all Posterity; and all Nations. He may tell you many more particulars, which I dare not do.





A

# VIEW

OF THE

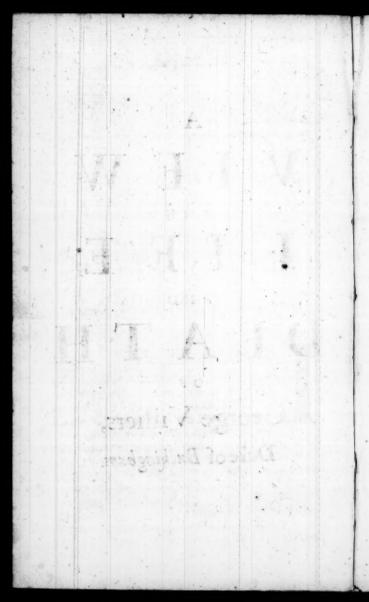
### LIFE

AND

## DEATH

OF

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingbam.





#### THE

### LIFE and DEATH

OF

### GEORGE'VILLIERS,

Late Duke of BUCKINGHAM:

Determine to write the Life and the End, the Nature and the Fortunes of GEORGE VILLIBRS, late Duke of Buckingham: (esteeming him worthy to be Registred among the great Examples of Time and Fortune:) which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton pleasure in mine own Pen; nor truly, without often pondering with my self before-hand what Censures I might incur. For I would not be ignorant by long Observation; both abroad and at home; That every where all greatness of Power and Favour is circumvested with much prejudice. And that it is not easy for Writers to research with due distingtion (as they ought) in the Actions of Eminers.

Personages, both how much may have been blemished by the envy of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity; unless, after the period of their Splendour, which must needs dazle their beholders, and perhaps oftentimes themselves, we could, as in some Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them again, and confer a while with their naked Ghosts. However, or my part, I have no service or ignoble end in my present labour, which may on either side restrain or embase the freedom of my poor judgment. I will therefore steer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through the deep and lubrick waves of State and Court, till he was swallowed in the Gulph of sa-

tality.

I find him born in the year of our Saviour 1502. on the 20 of August, at Brookeby in Leicester-Shire, where his Ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of 400 years, rather without obscurity, than with any great Lustre, after they had long before been feated it Kinalton in the County of Noitingham. He was the third Son of George Villiers Knight, and Mary late Counters of Buckingham, and Daughter to Anthony Beaumont of Coleorion, Efquire, names on either side well known of Ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who in a wild Pamphlet which he Published, befides other piciful Malignities, would scant allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured where he had been Born, in his first Rudiments, till the years of 10; and from thence fent to Billifden-School in the same County, where he was taught the principles of Musick, and other slight Literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his Father died. Then his beautiful and provident Mo-

Mother, (for those Attributes will not be denyed her) took him home to her House at Goodby, where the had him in especial care; so as he was first (as we may fay) a Domestick Favourite: But finding him (as it should seem) by nature little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with conversative Qualities and Ornaments of youth, as Dancing, Fencing, and the like; Not without aim then perchance (though far off) at a Courtiers Life: To which lessons, he had such a dextrous proclivity, as his Teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness; to the end that his Brothers, who were under the fame training, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen, he travelled into France, where he improved himself well in the Language, for one that had so little Grammatical Foundation; but more in the exercifes of that Nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms, (the ordinary Disease of Travellers.) After his Return, he paffed again one whole year (as before) at Goodby, under the Wing and Counfels of his Mother: and then was forward to become a Suiter at London to Sir Roger Ashton's Daughter, a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King James, and Master of the Robes. About which time, he falls into intrinsical fociety with Six Fohn Greham, then one of the Gentlemen of his Maj flies Privy-Chamber: who, I know not upon what Luminaries he espied in his face, disliwaded him from Marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to wooe Fortune in Court. Which advice fank well into his fancy; for within fome while, the King had taken up certain Glances, (whereof the first was at Apthorpe, in a Progress) such liking of his Q. 3 perfon

person, that he resolved to make him a Masterpiece, and to mould him, as it were, Platonically to his own Idea. Neither was his Majesty content only to be the Architect of his Fortune, without putting his-Gracious hand likewife to some part of the work it felf. Infomuch as it pleafed him to defcend, and to avale his goodness, even to the giving of his foresaid friend Sir John Greham secret directions, how, and by what degrees he should bring him into Favour. But this was quickly difcovered by him, who was then as yet in some poffession of the Kings Heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous than a Favourite, especially towards the wayning time and fuspect of fatiety. So as many Arts were used to discuss the beginnings of new affection, (which lie out of my Road, being a part of another mans Story.) All which notwithflanding, for (I omit things intervenient) there is conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the Kings pleasure to wait, and to be fworn his fervant; And shortly after, his Cup-Bearer at large; And the Summer following he was admitted in Ordinary. After which time Favours came thick upon him, (liker main Showers, than sprinkling Drops or Dews) for the next St. Georges-day he was Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber; and the very fame day had an annual Pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At New-years-tide following, the King chose him Master of the Horse. After this he was installed of the most Noble Order. And in the next August he created him Baron of Whaddon, and Viscount Villiers. In January of the fame year, he was advanced Earl of Buckingham,

and fworn here of his Majesties Privy-Council; as if a Favourite were not fo before. The March ensuing, he attended the King into Scorland, and was likewife fworn a Counfellor in that Kingdom; where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate Men ) he did carry himself-with lingular sweetness and temper; which I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in savour, and succeeding one of their own, to study a moderate ftyle among those generous spirits. About Newyears-tide after his return from thence (for those beginnings of years were very propitious unto him as if Kings did chuse remarkable days to inaugurate their Favours, that they may appear acts as well of the Times, as of the Will) he was Created Marquels of Buckingham, and made Lord Admiral of England. Chief Justice in Eyre of all the Parks and Forests on the South Side of Trehe, Mafter of the Kings-Bench Office, (none of the unprofitable pieces)
Head Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windfor-Caftle.

Here I must breath awhile, to satisfy some that perhaps might otherwise wonder at such an Accumulation of Benefits, like a kind of Embroidering or lifting of one Favour upon another. Certainly the Hearts of great Princes, if they be considered as it were in abstract, without the necessity of States, and Circumstances of time, being, besides their natural extent, moreover once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionate pleasure in the exercise of any narrow Bounty. And albeit at first they give only upon choice and love of the person, yet within a while themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to soment, their deeds, no less than Pa-

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rents do their Children. But let us go on.

For these Offices and Dignities already rehearsed, and those of the like nature, which I shall after fet down in their place, were (as I am ready to fay) but the facings or fringes of his Greatness, in comparison of that trust which his most Gracious Mafter did cast upon him in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, when he made him the chief Concomitant of his Heir apparent, and only Son, our dear Soveraign now being, in a Journey of much Adventure, and which ( to shew the strength of his privacy ) had been before not communicated with any other of his Majesties most referved Councellors at home, being carried with great closeness, liker a business of Love than State: as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole Kingdom stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a Prince; I have been the more defirous to refearch with fome diligence, the feveral pallages of the faid Journey, and the particular Accidents of any moment in their way, They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuefday the 18 of Februay, from the Marquels his House of late purchace, at New Hall in Effex, fetting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of Thomas and John Smith. And then attended with none, but Sir Richard Grebam, Mafter of the Horse to the Marquels, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the River against Gravefend, for lack of Silver, they were fain to give the Ferry-Man a piece of two and twenty shillings, which ftruck the poor fellow into fuch a melting tenderness, that so good Gentlemen should be going ( for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond Sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the

the Officers of the Town with what had befallen him, who fent presently Post for their stay at Rochefter, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the Hill beyond that City, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the French Ambassador, with the Kings Coach, and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach Post-Hackneys to leap Hedges. At Canterbury, whither fome voice (as it should feem) was run on before, the Mayor of the Town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh Horses, in a blunt manner, alleadging first a Warrant to stop them, from the Councel, next from Sir Lewis Lembner . Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly from Sir Henry Manwaring, then Lieutenant of Dover-Castle. At all which confused fiction, the Marquess had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to difmask his Beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a fecret view being (Admiral) of the forwardness of his Majesties Fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow Seas: This, with much ado . did fome what handsomely heal the disguisement. On the way afterwards, the Baggage Post-Boy, who had been at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To Dover, through bad Horses and those pretty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington, then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of Harworth, and Mr. Endymion Porter, who had been fent before to provide a Vessel for their Transportation. The foresaid Knight was conjoyned for the nearness of his place, on the Prin-

Princes affairs; and for his long Residence in the Court of Spain, where he had gotten fingular credit even with that cautious Nation, by the temper of his Carriage. Mr. Porter was taken in. not only as a Bed-Chamber fervant of Confidence to his Highness, but likewise as a necessary and ufeful Instrument, for his natural skill in the Spanish Tongue. And thefe five were at the first the whole Parada of this Journey. The next morning, for the night was Tempestuous, on the 19th. of the aforefaid Month, taking Ship at Dover about fix of the Clock, they landed the fame day at Bulloyn in France, near two hours after Noon; reaching Monfiruel that night (like Men of dispatch ;) and Paris the second day after, being Friday the one and twentieth. But some three Posts before, they had met with two German Gentlemen that came newly from England, where they had feen at New-Market the Prince and the Marquels taking Coach together with the King, and retaining fuch a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Greham, who would needs perswade them they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter, for the very strangeness of the thing it self; and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a Prince and Favourite fo fuddenly Metamorphofed into Travellers, with no greater Train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this I suppose ; next the assurance of their own well refolved Carriage against a new accident, to have been their best Anchor in all such Incounters. At Paris the Prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a samous Ci-

ty and Court, which was a Neighbour to his future Estates. But for their better vailing of their Visages, his Highness and the Marquess bought each of them a Periwig, somewhat to over-shadow their fore-heads. Of the King they got a fight af-ter dinner in a Gallery, where he was folacing himfelf with familiar pleasures. And of the Queen Mother as she was at her own Table; in neither place descryed, no not by Monsieur Cadinet, who saw them in both, and had been lately Ambassadour in England. \*Towards Evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though under-lined with a Providence, they had a full fight of the Queen Infanta, and of the Princess Henrietta Maria, with other great Ladies, at the practife of a Masquing Dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two Gentlemen who were tending towards that fight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the Duke De Mount Bason, the Queens Lord Chamberlain, out of humanity to Strangers, when divers of the French went by. Note here, even with the point of a Diamond, by what oblique steps, and inimaginable preparatives, the high Disposer of Princes Affections doth sometimes contrive the fecrets of his Will. For by this casual curiosity, it fell out: that when afterwards the Marriage came in motion between our Soveraign Lord, and the aforesaid most Amiable Princes; it must needs be (howfoever unknown) no small spur to the Treaty, that she hath not before been altogether a stranger to his Eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the Clock in the morning from Paris, the 23. of February, were spent fix days to Bayon, the last Town of France, having before at Bourdeaux,

bought

bought them five riding Coats, all of one colour and fashion, in a kind of Noble simplicity; where Sir Francis Costington was imployed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the Duke De Espernon, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean Degree, and formed yet to little Courtship, who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial Man in the practices of the World) have pierced somewhat deeper than their outside.

They were now entred into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their Inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage (if I may infert it by the way among more ferious:) There was near Bayon, on Herd of Goats with their young ones, upon which fight, the faid Sir Richard Greham tells the Marquess, he would fnap one of the Kids, and make fome shift to carry him close to their Lodging. Which the Prince over-hearing, Why Richard, fays he, do you think you may practife here your old tricks again upon the Borders? Upon which words, they first gave the Goat-Herd good contentment, and then while the Marquess and his Servant being (both on foot) where chasing the Kid about the stack, the Prince from Horseback killed him in the Head with a Scotifb Pistol. Set this Fear for a Journal Parenthefis, which yet may shew how his Highness even in fuch flight and sportful damage, had a Noble sense of just dealing.

At Bayon, the Count De Gramont, Governour of that jealous Key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more worth than their Habits,

bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And four days after they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday, the fifth of March. Thus have I briefly run over transcursions, as if my Pen had been posting with them. Which done, I shall not need to relate the affluence of young Nobles and others from hence into Spain; after the voice of our Prince his being there had been quickly noised, and at length believed; neither will I stay to consider the Arts of Rome, where now all Engines were wheted (though by the Divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a Prince of Great Britain upon Catholick

Ground, as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of Negotiation there, the open entertainments, the fecret working, the Apprehension on both sides, the appearance on neither; And in fumm, all the circumstances and respect of Religion and State intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a Royal History, or a Councel-Table, than a fingle Life. Yet I cannot omit some things which intervened at the meeting of two Pleiades, methinks not unlike that which Astrologers call a Conjunction of Planets, of no very benign Aspect the one to the other; I mean, the Marquels of Buckingham, and the Conde d'Olivares. They had fome sharper and fome milder differences, which might eafily happen in such an intervene of Grandees, both vehement on the parts which they fwayed. But the most remarkable was upon supposition of the Condes, (as fancies are cheap) that the Marquess had intimated unto her some hopes of the Prince his Conversion; which coming into debate. the Marquess so roundly disavowed this gilded dream, as Oliveres alleadged he had given him LaMentida, and thereupon forms a Complement to the Prince himself; which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivares persisting in the said Complement, the Marquess, though now in strange Hands, yet seeing both his Honour and the Truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his Life, but replyed with some heat, that the Condes asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tyed in terms of a Gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the harshest point that occurred between them; which that it went so far, was not the Dukes sault; nor his sault neither, (as it should seem) that it went no further.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The Conde d'Olivares tells the Marquess of a certain flying noise, that the Prince did plot to be secretly gone: To which the Marquess gave a well temper'd answer, That though Love had made his Highness steal out of his own Countrey, yet Fear would never make him run out of Spain in other manner than should become a Prince of his Royal and generous Vertues.

In Spain they stayed near eight entire Months, during all which times, who but Buckingham lay at home under Millions of maledictions? Which yet, at the Prince his safe arrival in the West did die, and vanish here and there into Praises and Elogies, according to the contrary motions of popular Waves. And now to summ up the Fruit of the Journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest Observers. It was said, that the Prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his Religion, had

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by the fight of Forreign Courts, and Observations or the different Natures of People, and Rules of Government, much excited and awaked his foirits. and corroborated his judgment. And as for the Marquels, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained : First, he was returned with encrease of Title, having there been made Duke, by Patent fent him, which was the highest degree whereof an English Subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though closer; for by fo long and fo private, and fo various confociation with a Prince of fuch excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own Fortune and Greatness; whereas otherwise the estate of a Favourite is at the best but a Tenant at will. and rarely transmitted. But concerning the Spanish Commission, which in publick conceit was the main scope of the Journey, that was left in great suspence, and after some time utterly laid aside: which threw the Duke amongst free Wits (whereof we have a rank Soil) under divers Censures. The most part were apt to believe, that he had brought down some deep distaste from Spain, which exasperated his Councels; Neither was there wanting fome other, that thought him not altogether void of a little Ambition, to shew his power, either to knit or dissolve. Howsoever, the whole Scene of affairs was changed from Spain to France, there now lay the prospective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of State being ever attributed to the powerfullest under Princes (as the manner is where the eminency of one obscureth the rest; ) the Duke became suddenly and ftrangely Gracious among the multitude, and was even in Parliament highly exalted; fo as he did feem for a time to have overcome that natural lucompatibility, which in the experience of all Ages hath been noted between the Vulgar and the Soveraign Favour. But this was no more than a meer bubble or blast, and like an Ephemeral sit of applause, as estsoons will appear in the sequel and train of his Life. I had almost forgotten, that after his return from Spain, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, (which is as it were a second Admiralty) and Steward likewise of the Manour of Hampton Court; Dignities and Offices still growing of Trust or Prosit: And the King now giving not only out of beneficent disposition, but a very habitual and confirmed custom.

One Year, fix Months, two days after the joyful Reception of the Prince his Son from Spain, King James of Immortal (Memory among all the lovers and admirers of Divine and Humane Sapience) accomplished at Theobalds his own days on Earth. Under whom the Duke had run a long Course of calm and smooth Prosperity: I mean long, for the ordinary Life of Favour; and the more notable, because it had been without any visible Eclipse or Wave in himself, amidst divers variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and Vigorous King, was his Marriage, for mediate establishment of the Royal Line. Wherein the Duke having had an especial hand, he was sent to conduce hither the most Lovely and Vertuous Princess Hemistra Maria, youngest Daughter to the Great Hemy of Bombon, of whom his Majesty (as hath been said) had an ambulatory view in his Travels, (like a stollen taste of something that

bro-

Provoketh apperite.) He was accompanied with none of our Peers but the Earl of Mountgomery, now Lord Chamberlain, a Noble Gentleman, of trufty, free, and open nature; and truly no unfuitable Affociate, for that he himself likewise, at the beginning of King James, had run a Circle in the wheeling vicissitude of Favour.

And here I must crave leave in such of high quality, or other of particular note, as shall fall under my pen, (whereof this is the first) not to let them pass without their due Character, being part

of my professed ingenuity.

Now this Ambaffy, though it had a private flew, being charged with more formality than matter, (for all the effential Conditions were before concluded) could howfoever want no Ornaments, or bravery to adorn it. Among which, I am near thinking it worthy of a little remembrance, that the Duke, one folemn day, Gorgeoufly clad in a fuit all over-fpread with Diamonds, and having lost one of them of good value, perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion, it was strangely recovered again the next morning in a Court full of Pages: Such a diligent attendant was Fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all Civil Honours having showred on him before, there now tell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action, a breach first with Spain, and not long after with France it self, not withstanding so streight an affinity, so lately treated with the one; and actually accomplished with the other. As if indeed (according to that pleasant Maxim of State) Kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve

the Dake in business enough to have over-set a lesser Vessel, being the next Commander under the

Crown, of Ports and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those Overtures of publick imployment. For at the Parliament at Oxford, his Youth and want of Experience in Maritime service, had somewhat been shrewdly touched, even before the sluces and slood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open. So as to wipe out that Objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majesties untroubled and serene Commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a rubbing of Armour, which a great while had layn oyled: The Magazines of Munition are viewed: The Officers of Remains called to account: frequent Councils of War, as many private conferences with expert Sea-men, a Fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain.

The Duke himself personally imployed to the States General; and with him joyned in full Commission the Earl of Holland, a Peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and service.

able vertue for publick use.

These two Nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their Ships were foundred, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the Ministers of divers allied and confederate Princes, about a common diversion, for the recovery of the Palatinate where the Kings only Sifters Dowry had been ravished by the German Eagle, mixed with Spanish Feathers: A Princes resplendent in darkness, and whose vertues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune.

Here

Here it were injurious to over-flip a Noble act in the Duke during this Imployment, which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his Expences: There was a Collection of certain rare Manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and fought in the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenim, the most excellent Linguist : These had been left to the Widow of the faid Erpenia, and were upon fale to the Jesuits at Antwerp, liquorish Chapmen of such Ware. Whereof the Duke, getting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secretary, Doctor Majon, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred pounds, a fum above their weight in filver, and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being out of his natural Element. These were they, which after his death were as Nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the university of Cambridge, by the Dutchess Dowager, as soon as she understood, by the aforesaid Doctor Mason, her Husband's intention, who had a purpose likewise (as I am well instructed) to raise in the faid University (whereof he was Chancellor) a fair Cafe for fuch Monuments, and to furnish it with other choice Collections from all parts, of his own charge perchance in some emulation of that famous Treasury of knowledge at Oxford, without parallel in the Christian World. But let me resume the file of my Relation, which this Object of Books (best agreeable to my course of life) hath a little interrupted.

The aforesaid Negotiation, though prosecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the Duke's return from his excentricity, (for so I account Favourites abroad) and then at home he met no good news of the

Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof though he had spent much sollicitude ex officio, yet it principally failed (as was thought) by late setting out, and by some contrariety of weather at Sea; where by the particular design took vent before hand, a point hardly avoidable in actions of noise, especially where the great Indian Key to all Cabinets is

working.

Not long after this, the King, pondering in his Wisdom the weight of his Foreign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at Westminster : this was that Assembly, where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the Duke's Case, from the most exalted, (as he had been both in another Parliament, and in common Voice before) to the most depressed now; as if his condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was To freshly returned out of the Low Country Provinces, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the fingle example that our Annals have yielded, from the time of William de la Pool, Duke of Suffolk, under Henry the Sixth, of fuch a concurrence of two extreams, within fo short time, by most of the same Commenders and Disprovers, (like the natural breath of man, that can both heat and cool ) would require no fleight memorial of the particular Motives of fo great a change, but that the whole Cafe was dispersed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgesses of Towns, through all the Veins of the Land, and may be taken by any, at pleasure, out of the Parliament Registers. Besides that, I observe it not usual among the best patterns, to stuff the report of particular lives with matter of publick record.

record, but rather to dive fas I shall endeavour, before I wipe my Pen) into fecret and proper afflictions: how loever fomewhat I must note in this strange Phainomenon. It began from a travelled Doctor of Phylick, of bold spirit, and of able Elocution; who being returned one of the Burgelles ( which was not ordinary in any of his Coat) fell by a Metaphorical Allusion) translated from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke's as a main cause of divers infirmities in the State, or near that purpose; being sure enough of Seconds, after the first On-fet, in the Lower House. As for any close intelligence that they had before hand with some in the Higher, (though that likewife was faid) I wantground to affirm, or believe it more than a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were nearest the object, which we fee fo familiar, both in natural and moral causes. The Duke's Answers to his Appeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched: and though his heart was big. yet they all favour of an humble fpirit, one way. equitable confideration, which could not but poffels every vulgar conceit, and fomewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and fifting of near fourteen years of fuch power and favour, all that came out, could not be expected to be pure and white, and fine Meal, but must needs have withal among it a certain mixture of Padar and Bran, in this lower age of humane fragility. Howfoever this Tempest did only shake, and not rent his Sails. For his Majesty considering that almost all his Appeachments were without the compass of his own Reign; and moreover, That nothing al, ledged against him, had, or could be proved by R 2 Oath.

Oath, according to the Constitution of the House of Commons; which the Duke himself did not forget in the Presace of his Answers. And lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity, and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participations of all hazards, found himself orgaged in honour, and in the sense of his own natural goodness, to support him at home from any surther inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimonies of divers important imputations, whereof the truth is best known to his Majesty

while he was Prince.

The Summer following this Parliament (after an Embarque of our Trading Ships in the River of Bourdeane, and other points of Soveraign affront) there did focceed the action of Rheez, wherein the Duke was perfonally imployed on either Element, both as Admiral and General, with hope in that fervice to recover the publick good will, which he faw by his own example, might quickly be won and loft. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much Learning, and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which in truth it greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure, even from some of the Prench Writers, than it had generally amongst our selves at home.

Now, because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes, and these only touching the Duke's own deportment in that Island, the proper subject of my quill; for in the general survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if Fortune had meant we should quickly be Friends again. Wherein let their

names

names that were bravely loft, he rather memorized in the full table of time; for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miferies. The Duke's carriage was furely Noble throughout; to the Gentlemen of fair respect, bountiful to the Souldier, according to any special value which he spyed in any, tender and careful of those that were hurt, of unquestionable Courage in himself, and rather fearful of Fame, than Danger : In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the fuccours which he expected did fail him; but the lefs he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsecally,according to the nature of suppressed passions. For certain it is, that to his often mentioned Secretary, Doctor Mason, whom he laid in Pallet near him, for natural Ventilation of his thoughts. he would, in the absence of all other ears and eves. break out into bitter and passionate Eruptions, protelling, That never his Dispatches to divers Princes. nor the great business of a Fleet, of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit, That fome at home, under his Majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth 'to rove at conjectures.

Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but in the general Town he maintained a feizure and possession of the whole three full months, and eighteen days; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured with a wooden Vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long Boat. Where succeeded

fuch a defeat of near two Hundred Horse (and these not) by his ghess (mounted in Haste, but the most part Gentlemen of Family, and great refolution) seconded with two thousand Foot, as all circumstances well balanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest Impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conscience, having brought of that with him to Camp, perchance, too much from a Court, where Fortune had never deceived him: Besides, we must consider him yet but rude in the prosssion of Arms, though greedy of Honour, and zealous in the Cause.

At his return to Plimouth, a strange accident befell him, perchance not so worthy of memory for it self, as for that it seemeth to have been a kind of

prelude to his final period.

The now Lord Goring, a Gentlemen of true honnour, and of vigilant affections for his Friend. fends to the Duke, in all expedition, an express Mexenger with advisement to assure his own Perfon, by declining the ordinary Road to London, for that he had credible Intelligence of a plot against his life, to be put in execution upon him in his Said journey towards the Court. The Duke meeting the Mellenger on the way, read the Letter, and Inothering it in his pocket, without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards; His company being about that time not above feven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence, than with ordinary fwords. After this, the Duke had advanced three miles before he met with an old Woman, near a Town in the Road, who demanded, Whether the Duke were in the comcompany? and bewraying fome especial occasion to be brought to him was lead to his Horfe-fide; where he told him, that in the very next Town where he was to pass, she had heard some desperate men yow his death: and thereupon would have directed him about by a furer way. This old Womans casual access, joyn'd with that deliberate advertisement which he had before from his Noble Friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the Taid Letter, and all the circumstances, with his Company; who were joyntly upon confent, that the Woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved not to wave his way upon this reason, perhaps more generous than provident, that if, as he faid, he should but once, by fuch a diversion, make his enemy Believe he were afraid of danger, he should never live without. Hereupon his young Nephew, Lord Vifcount Fielding, being then in his Company, out of a Noble spirit, belought him, that he would at least honour him with his Coat, and blew Ribbon thorow the Town pleading that his Uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole Family was of all things under Heaven the most precious unto him; and undertaking fo to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the Duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him from him; and fo he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet Propolition, the Duke caught him in his arms, and killed him; yet would not, as he faid, accept of fuch an offer in that case from a Nephew, whose life he tendred as much as himself; and so liberally rewarded the poor Creature for her good will. After some short directions to his Company, how they

they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entred into the Town, but a scambling Souldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance somewhat worse) in a drinken salhion; yet a Gentleman of his train that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premises it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his Horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest went on quickly through the Town: neither, for ought I can hear, was there any further enquiry into that practice, the Duke, peradventure thinking it wisdom not to resent discontentments too deep.

At his return to the Court he found no change in Faces, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many Gallant Gentlemen; against which his friends did oppose in their discourses the chance of War, together with a gentle expectation for want

of Supply in time.

After the complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate issue at Rheez, the Duke's fame did fill remain more and more in obloquy among the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes: so as he saw plainly that he must abroad again to rectifie by his best endeavour under the publick Service, his own reputation. Whetenpon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at Sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindful in his civil course, to cast an eye upon the ways, to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the Lower House of Parliament, applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew

the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surprized with a fatal stroke, written in the

black Book of necessity.

There was a younger Brother of mean fortunes, born in the County of Suffell, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep melancholy, filent and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a Souldier and thereby raised to the place of Lieutenant, to a Foot-Company, in the Regiment of Sir James Rainfey. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the Duke's death. But what may have been the immediate or greatest motive of that selonious conception, is

even yet in the Clouds.

It was faid at first that he had been stung with a denial of his Captains place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the Duke. before he would invest him in the faid place, advifing first (as his manner was) with his Colonel; he found him to enterpose for one Powel his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary valour and according to Military cuftom, the place was good; that the Lieutenant of the Colonels Company might well pretend to the next vacant Cape tainship, under the same Regiment. Which Felron acknowledged to be in it felt very usual and equitable, besides the special merit of the person. So as the aforefaid conceit of fome rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a Knight of the fame County (whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour) and the faid Felion, there had been ancient quarrels not yet well healed, which might perhaps lie festering in his brest, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect.

effect. But that carries finall probability y that Felion would fo deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more than an oblique facrifice to the funes of his private revenge upon a third perfon.

Therefore the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done or to flumber his conscience in the doing he studied other incentives, alledging, not three hours before his execution to Sir Richard Grefham; two only inducements thereof. The first, as he made it in order, was a certain, libellous Book written by one Egglestone a Scorish Phylician, which made the Duke one of the fouleft Monsters upon the earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian Court, and under so vertuous a King; but of any Room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth. The fecond, was, the remainstrance it self of the lower House of Parliament against him which perchance he thought the fairest cover, fo he put in the fecond place. Whanfoever were the true motive, which I think rione (Can determine but the Prince of derkness it felf; he did thus prosecute the effects delide Rotter Which Etheft

im a by-Catlers Shop on Tower-bill, he bought a ten penny Knife! (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt) and the sheath thereof he sewedre the lining of his Pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the Blade alone with one hand, for he had mained the other. This done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on Horse-back, and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth; for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At Portsmouth

on Saturday, being the 23. of August of that currant year, he prelled without any fulpicion in fuch a time of fo many pretenders to imployment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accom? panied with men of quality and action, with Monfieur de Sonbes , and Sir Thomas Fryer, And there a little before the Dukes rifing from the Table, he went and flood expecting till he should pass through a kind of Lobby between that Room and the next. where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker than the Chamber which he voided, while the Duke came with Sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the faid Knight withdrew himself from the Duke, this Affaffinate gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left fide, leaving the Knife in his body. Which the Duke himfelf pulling out, on a fudden effusion of spirits, he funk down under the Table in the next Room, and immediately expired.

Certzin it is, that some good while before, Sir Clement Throgmorton, a Gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had in a printe conference advised him to wear a Privy-Coat, whose Counsel the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, That against any popular sury, a Shirt of Mayl would be but a filly defence; and as for any single mans assault, he took himself to be in no

danger. So dark is Deftiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is, I must confess, to me beyond all wonder, as I received it from a Gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the Duke well favoured: That within the space of not many minutes after

fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first Room, there was not a living creature in either of the Chambers, no more than if it had lien in the Sands of Achiopia; whereas commonly, in fuch cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken, and to fee. But it should feem the very horrour of the fact had stupissed all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murtherer himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow, none could affirm) if he had not lingred about the House below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembred by a vertuous fame, or an illustrious infamy.

Thus died this great Peer, in the 36 year of his age compleat, and three days over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependance upon him, the House, and Town full of Servants and Suiters, his Dutches in an upper Room, scarce yet out of her Bed; and the Court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been

the Stage of his Greatness.

I have spent some enquiry whether he had any ominous presagement before his end. Wherein though both ancient and modern Stories have been insected with much vanity; yet oftentimes things fall out of that kind which may bear a sober construction, whereof I will glean two or three in the Duke's Case.

Being to take his leave of my Lords Grace of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the King's unchangeable affection by

nis

his own great abilities; after courtefies of course had passed between them: My Lord, says the Duke, I know your Lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the King our Soveraign, let me pray you to put his Majesty in mind to be good, as I no ways distrust, to my poor Wise and Children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my Lord Bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. No (replyed the Duke) but I think some adventure may kill me as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the King was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his Bed; where, and after much serious and private discourse, the Duke at his Majesties departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and in like fort his friend the Earl of Holland, as if his soul had divined he should see them no more: which insusons towards fatal ends, had been observed by some Authors of no light Authority.

On the very day of his death, the Countess of Denbigh received a Letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the Paper with her tears; And after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yield no reason, but that her dearest Brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swound. Her said Letter ended

thus :

I will pray for your happy resurn, which I look as with a great cloud over my head, soo heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you. The

The day following, the Bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of her self, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, Her brother seeming to pass thorow a field with her in her Coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the Duke of Buckingham was sick. Which natural impression the scarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Bishop was entred into her Bedchamber for a chosen Messenger of the Duke's death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgement, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick Anagrams, and such strains of

fancy.

He took to Wife, eight years and two months before his death, the Lady of Katherine Manners, Heir general to the Noble House of Ruland, who; besides a solid addition to his Estate, brought him three Sons and a Daughter, called the Lady Mary, his sirst born; his eldest Son died at Nurse, before his Journey at Rheez; and his third, the Lord Francis, was born after his Father's death; so as neither his sirst nor his last were participant of any sense of his missortunes or selicities. His second Son, now Duke of Buckingham, was born to chear him after his return from that unlucky Voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable vertues of her Person and Mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation towards his end, be-

queath-

queathing her all his Mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole perfonal Estate, together with a fourth part of his Lands in joynture: He left his elder Brother of the same womb a Viscount, and his younger an Earl; Sir Edward Villiers, his half Brother on the Fathers fide, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his step mothers eye to the Presidentship; where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality; and died with as much grief of the whole Province, as ever any Gcvernor did (before his religious Lady of sweet and Noble disposition) adding much to his honour. The eldelt of the Brethren, and Heir of the Name, was made a Baronet, but abstained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater Greatness of self-fruition.

He left his Mother a Countes by Patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare, since the days of Queen Mary. His Sister of Denbigh (that right character of a good Lady) he most humbly recommended to the Queen; who after a discharge of some French in her Court that were to return, took her into three several places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particular Branch of those private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of the Name of Vikiers or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully with Earls Sons and Heirs; or at least with Knights, or Dostors of Divinity, and of plentiful condition: He did not much strengthen his own subsistence in Court,

but stood there on his own feet, for the truth is, the most of his Allies rather leaned upon him, than

shoared him up.

His familiar fervants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of State, as his Secretaries; or of office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long used to sollicite his Causes; He left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame.

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ments of great Personages.

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THE

# GREAT ACTION

BETWEEN

# POMPEY

AND

# CESAR.

Extracted out of the Roman and Grecian Writers, by H. W. K. for an Historical Exercise.

#### The DEDICATION to Sir EDMUND BACON

Knight and Baronet. wall

HEN Rome in the revolution of 702.

years, was grown pregnant of an universal Monarchy: After hard labour with foreign Hoffilitles; and worse with inward Rents and Divisions which mangled her own bowels. The State yet free cor

Looseness mistaken, as it is often, for Liberty) seemed now to stand most in danger of two eminent Gentlemen, Caius Julius Cafar and Cneus Pompeius: The one of all men living, the likelieft to ftir up again the Cinders of the Marian, the other of the Syllan Party. These Gallants of the time had some years before, besides their near alliance by Marriage of Pompey to Julius Cafar's Daughter, (a Lady of imperious allurement) been likewise united together in a Triumviral Knot with Marcus Crassus, the wealthiest of the whole Nobility, which Confort hip was in effect a kind of Segregate, or Cabinet-Senate; importing fecretly no less, than that no act of Moment should pass without consent of all three: So as upon this foundation, by their own personal Purfuits, by the mutual Strength and Coherence of their feveral Dependants; and by all other infinuative and ambient Arts, (in a long corrupted Common-wealth, still forbidden, and still increasing) after they had run through the principal Dignities at home: Crassus on the Eastern side, with a puissant Army (as Money wants no Followers) went Governor of Syria: Pompey Southward, got Libya of new, and retained both Spains under former Lieutenants: As for Cafar who by an infolent Confulfhip had awaked much jealousie, they gave him at first only Illyricum, and the nearer Gallia, Provinces then of little doings, (as it were to impound his spirits:) yet least the People (whose good will had cost him deep) should bluster in his behalf, the Senate was afterwards (between Favour and Fear) content to extend his Commission to Gallia Narbonensu, beyond the Alps. Thus were the Three distributed at distance enough, as perchance was thought meet, npon more doubt hitherto of their too much agreement.

ment, and conference of Counsels and Plots together, than of any rupture, or disunion at hand: So Short-fighted is that which we call humane Providence, and so easily can the Supream Mover delude our Imaginations. For Crassus not long after, either greedy of Fame or Spoil, and too confident (as it should seem) in the weakest of Advantages, Number, being miserably overthrown, and flain by the Parthians. And Julia a little before dying of an Abort in Child-bed, together with the Infam she bare, it lay thenceforth open and clear in every Mans eye, that the Triumvirate dissolved and She gone, without any Slip remaining, who had been the fastest Cement to hold her Father and Husband together, there would foon enfue but a dry and fandy Friendship between them, being now left at large to the Scope and Sway of their voluntary Apperires.

Wherefore having undertaken for some entertainment of my private time, to compile out of the best of Ancient Memories, that mighty Astron which anon under these two Chiefs involved almost the whole World, then known, I impute it not impertinent, to take first a short view how they stood

beforehand in Parallel together.

They were both, in general, esteemed of Affections too strong for their own, or the common Quiet: That the one could not endure a Superior, nor the other an Equal; we are told both in Prose and in Verse, by ingenious Authors: But whether they agreed to leave us a draught of the greatness, or of the weakness of their Minds, I dare not affirm; some seeming Magnanimities being indeed (if you sound them well) at the bottom, very Impotencies. Gertainly, in sober conceit, howsoever they stood

towards other, they were impatient of all comparison or approach between themselves; and of their former nearness, no fruit remaining but this, That the more inwardly they had then studied and underflood each other, they now loved the less. For point of invading the Soveraignty, such parrow Humorists as could look through them, thought Pompey of the two, rather the closer, than the better. For Cafar's was not a smothered, but a flagrant Ambition, kindling first by Nature, and blown by Neceffity; in the course whereof one might observe a kind of Circular Motion : for as his vast Desires had exhaufted him with unmeasurable gifts above private Condition; so again, when he was grown (as he would often sport with himself in earnest) a great deal worth less than nothing . He fell next to refolve (by an usual Coincidence of extreams) that he could not subsist, unless he were Master of all. In their practical ways Pompey had one very ignoble custom, to insert, or (as I may term it) to inoculate himself into other mens merits and praises: So he undermined Lucullus in Alia, and Metellus in Spain: the first a wife and magnificent, the other a good plain Souldier-like Gentleman. But on the other fide. all that went for good or bad in Cafar, was clearly his own; having so little need to borrow from any other vertues, or vices, that he left it a Doubt among the best Wits of his time, whether of which himfelf had most, in the two proper Dowries of that Age, Eloquence or Arms.



# CHARACTER

OF

FERDINANDO di MEDICI, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

DEDICATED

# KING.

Eing desirous, albeit I dare promise little fruit, or pleasure, to others by any use of my Pen; yet at least to record unto my self some such Observations as I picked up abroad in the time of my former travels and imployments.

I stand obliged in grateful memory, to say somewhat of a Prince long since at rest; namely, Ferdinando, Grand Duke of Tuscany, which was the ancient Herruria, whose Palace of Pici at Florence, when I came often to review, and still me thought with fresh admiration; being incomparably (as

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far as I can yet speak by experience, or report) for solid Architecture, the most magnificent and regular Pile within the Christian World. It pleased him, by means of the Cavalier Viera, his principal Secretary of Estate, to take some notice of my Person, though no intruder by Nature, and (God

knows) of little ability.

The faid Duke Ferdinando was reputed a wife and wary Prince; and it was a Solid wisdom rather than a Formal. He had been long a Gardinal, and at two or three Conclaves (as they call them) or Elections of Popes: fo as he came to the Dukedom well feafoned before with practice, and well broken to Affairs: and with fuch an impresfion of his first Tincture (as falleth out naturally in all things else) that he always maintained a great interest in the Roman Court; as indeed was necesfary for a near and jealous Confiner. He was in his Civil Regiment of a fine composition, between Frugality and Magnificence: A great cherisher of Manual Arts, especially such as tended to splendour and ornament; as Picture, Sculpture, cutting of Chrystals, Ambers, and all of the softer Gems; inlaying of Marbles, limning of Birds, Beafts, and Vegetables; imbossing, and the like. In all which he drew to him from all parts the most exquisite Artificers with a fetled Pension, and placed them in several compartments of his Palace, where he would come oftentimes to fee them work for his own delight : and so he did furnish his Cabinets with Rareties at an easie rate, being, in truth, one of the greatest Occonomits of his Age. And as he had much at first of the Deacon, and more of the Prince, fo he did now and then not disdain to have a little of the Merchant; 'twas as well as fighting with his Gallies.

lies. After the death of the Duke Francesco his Brother, it was a while fomewhat an Ambiguous Deliberative, whether he should divest the Cardinalship, or rule with a double Greatness, Ecclesiastical and Civil: But the hope of Posterity overbalanced the scale; and so he took to Wife the Daughter of Loraign, as it were to interest himfelf now in the Borders of France: whereas his Name before had spread it self in the Body. He was by nature more referved than popular, and had vertues fitter to beget estimation than love; yet he would duly in his Coach take almost every day a review of the City, and receive Petitions willingly. Besides, I have been shewed a strange device of State, namely, an outward hole, like a Trunk, in a Wall of one of his Galleries, the bottom whereof was under lock and key, into which any one might let forth any fecret intelligence, and convey it closely to the ears of the Prince : enough to disquiet all the days of his life. He was ferved by able Instruments of State, and diligently attended in Court; but rather by choice than number, and with more neatness than noise. He had a close and intrinsecal Favourite, by Birth a Stranger, being born in Piedmont, but by his favour made Archbishop of Pisa, a notable Screen between him and his Subjects; upon whom the Duke would handfomly bestow all manner of complaint; and he as willingly bear it. He was unquestionably the powerfullest of all the Italian Dukes; and being centred in the very Navel of Italy, thereby the furthest from Invasion on all sides, and the most participant of the common Interest; which, I believe, among other causes, hath much preserved that State in busie times : yet surely, a little overawed

awed, or over-looked by the King of Spain, who holdeth in actual possession Pont Hercule, Telemene, and Tiombino, which we may perchance not improperly call the Fetters of Herruria. Of stature he was fomewhat above the mean, a gross body, not apt to motion, and as quiet a countenance. His Moneys were the purest and least corrupted within the Italian bounds : and his Mirkets the best ordered for prices of comestible Ware; where, in all his Towns, a man might have fent out a Child for any flesh, or fish, at a rated price every Morning. To which temper more septentrional unlimber Nations have not vet bent themselves. On the other fide, there was nothing brought into Florence from the Field, to the least sale, but by a long insensible fervitude paid somewhat. This was the Civil and Natural habit of that Prince: and more might be faid, if I were not pounded within an Epiftle. This Duke, while I was a private Traveller in Florence, and went fometime by chance (fure I am, without any delign) to his Court, was pleafed, out of some gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity, (for nothing elfe could move it) to imploy me into Scotland with a Casket of Antidores, or Preservatives, (wherein he did excel all the Princes of the World) and with a Dispatch of high and secret importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the Succession to this Crown; fo as I am much obliged to his Memory (though it was a painful journey) for that honour, and other Favours and Beneficences; and especially because I came thereby first into the notice of the King your Father, of ever bleffed memory, when your Majesty was but a blooming Rose, which afterwards drew on my imployment to the Republick of Venice.

THE

THE

# ELECTION OF THE DUKE

OF

# VENICE:

With other Papers concerning that STATE prefixed.

A Letter to the KING, December 9. 1622.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

Y this right honest and learned Gentleman, by name Adolphus Ryplingham, (who hath spent some time abroad in the best observations) I send your Majesty more Melon-seeds, of all forts, which have been diligently chosen, and will, I hope, take better than the former. In my Letter to Master Secretary Calvert, I have discharged other duties, among which some will come very seasonably unto your

your Majesty about Christ-mass time, to increase your recreation . For it is indeed a merry piece of fervice that I have fent your Majesty, a testimony of your conscience from Rome. Now, for this Letter, I have referved a private and voluntary fubject, which I have taken the freedom most humbly to present unto your Majesties benign censure. It is the preface to one of mine own poor labours, comprehending the argument thereof, and the motives. In which as yet unfinished lucubration ( for so I may justly call it, having been for the most part born in the night) I have had occasion to fall upon fome weighty confiderations of Church and State; while I did fearch the progress of this Republick, among the clouds and confusions of the middle Age. Between which times it was a kind of refreshment. and yet withal but a miserable pleasure, to contemplate how the Empire grew lank, and the Popedom tumorous proportionably, till Superstition, like a wild and raging fire, could at length be contained neque suis terminis, neque alienis. These remarkable points I have now touched, to procure from your Majesty fome pardon for a bold invocation therein of your Royal Name; being confident, that this high Theoreme of State, which I handle (though my felf but a poor Student in meaner speculations) may prove not unworthy, in the fubject it felf, to receive some lustre from your gracious countenance. To conclude, the trouble that I have given your Majesty, instead of some present more valuable, to inaugurate the new approaching year. I do humbly fubmit the death or life of this work to your only doom, and though that ancient conceit was well commended when it was first born ; Mallem Angusti judicium, quam Antonii Beneficium:

ficium: yet I must crave leave to think it somewhat ignoble. And for my part, to assure your Majesty, that I shall more rejoyce in the approbation of your judgment, than in the fruition even of your own benefits. And so I most humbly commit your most dear and Royal Person to God's continual love; remaining

Your Majesties Faithful Vasfal,

and long devoted poor Servant,

Octavio Baldi.

## [Præfatio in Historiam Venetam.]

Enricus Wottonius Anglo Cantianus, postquam quatuor decem fere annorum spatium legationibus apud Venetos exhauseram; Anno unici Mediatoris supra Millesimum sexcentesimum vicesimo secundo, Atatis mea quinquagesimo tertio jam labente, de illorum Imperio scribere sum aggressus; ut sinon satis vigilasse foris, pro publico munere, at saltem vixisse videar. Quippe levi profetto distant discrimine silentes à defunctis; nec multum interest, nos terminet fatalis dies, an prastinguat inertia. Igitur libido sapini sopita, nunc ardentini rediit, revolvendi vetera,novaque; ut ex radicibus eliciam,quo Fatt ductu, queis maxime institutis, quibusque Artibus, tam Inclyta Christiani Orbis Civitas tot sacula superaveric, inter varias Mari Terraque tam cladium quam vi-Etoriarum vices, nec minora fortaffe ipsus Otii, quam Belli mala. Hujus felicitatis progressus, & fulcimenta retrò quarenti, duo pracipue, si rette astimo Fontes recludent : Historia temporum, & Imperii forma. Que quam

potero

potero brevissime & quasi delibatim expediam. Ut boc qualecunque conceptum Opus detestu magis rerum quam nbertate gestiat: simul etiam ne in aliena Respublica arcanis longiùs herendo. Hospitis verecundiam violarem.

Te verò sapientissime socobe Rex & Domine, sub enjus indulgentis Judicii presidio imbecillitas nostra civilibus ministeriis incubuit, quam quidem natura potius ad simpliciora studia damnaverat: Te, inquam, Clarissimum saculi Lumen, in exordio prasentium curarum invocare liceat, ut tanti nominis, velut adstatu quodam atacrius incaptum peragam. Sed quia non levia meditamur, quod ante ingressum ingenui Authores solent, id quoque prositeor, ne sine obtrectatione, sine blanditiis, sensus, quos per omnem laboris partem res ipsa suggerit siberrime prolaturum, ne argumenti dignitatem dehonestet servilis orațio.

Jam urbem Venetam, &c.

# [ A Letter concerning the Original of Venice. ]

Right honourable, and my very good Lord,

Owe your Lordship, even by promise, some account of my foreign Travels: and the Observations which I have taken touching this City and Republick, are these;

The general position of the City of Venice, I find much celebrated, even by the learnedest of the \* Arabians, as being seated in the \* Averboes. very middle point between the Equinoctial and the Northern Pole, at 45. degrees pre-

cifely,

cifely, or next hand, of latitude: yet their Winters are for the most part sharper than ours, though about six degrees less of elevation; perchance by vicinity to the chilly tops of the Alps, for Winds as well as Waters are tainted in their passage; and the consequence which men make in common discourse, from the Degree of the place to the Temper is indeed very deceivable, without a due regard to other circumstances.

The Circuit thereof, through divers Creeks, is not well determinable; but as Aftronomers use to measure the Stars, we may account it a City of the first Magnitude; as London, Paris, Gaunt, Millain,

Lisbon, &c.

How they came to be founded in the midst of the Waters I could never meet with any clear Memorial. The best and most of their Authors ascribe their first beginnings rather to chance or necessity; than counfel; which yet in my opinion will amount to no more than a pretty conjecture intenebrated by Antiquity: for thus they deliver it; They fay, that among the Tumults of the middle Age, when Nations went about fwarming like Bees; Atylas, that great Captain of the Hunnes, and scourge of the World (as he was ftyled) lying long with a numerous Army at the Siege of Aquileia, it struck a. mighty affrightment and confusion into all the nearer parts; whereupon, the best fort of the bordering People, out of divers Towns, agreed either fuddenly, or by little and little (as fear will fometimes collect, as well as distract) to convey themfelves and their substance into the uttermost bosom of the Adriatick Gulf, and there possessed certain defolate Isles, by Tradition, about feventy in number, which afterwards (necessity being the Mother

Mother of Art) were tacked together with Bridges, and so the City took a rude form, which grew civilized with time, and became a great example what the smallest things well somented may prove.

They glory in this their beginning two ways: First, that surely their Progenitors were not of the meanest and baselt quality; (for such having little to lose, had as little cause to remove.) Next, that they were timely instructed with Temperance and Penury (the Nurses of Moderation.) And true it is, That all things savour of their first Principles, so doth the said Republick (as I shall afterwards shew) even at this day: for the Rule will hold as well in Civil as in Natural Causes.

Cætera desunt.

## [ An Epistle Dedicatory of the following Discourse ]

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

Having here lately seen the Deaths of two, and the Elections of two other Dukes, within the compass of six Weeks, I have been hold to entertain your Lordship with a little Story of these changes and competitions, though with small presumption that you can take any pleasure in my simple Report thereof, unless it win some favour by the freshness or the freedom.

For the rest, the whole Town is here at the present in horror and confusion, upon the Discovering of a foul and fearful Conspiracy of the French against this State; whereof no less than thirty have already suffered very condign punishment, between men strangled in Prison, drowned in the silence of the night, and hanged in publick

view; and yet the bottom is invisible.

If God's Mercy had not prevented it, I think I might for mine own particular have spared my late supplication to the King about my return home towards next Winter: For I cannot hope that in the common Massacre, publick Ministers would have been distinguished from other ment, nay, rather we might perchance have had the honour to have our Houses thought worthiest the risting. I shall give your Lordship a better account of this in my next; having now troubled you beyond excuse with my poor Papers. Our blessed God keep your Lordship in his love.

Venice this 25. of May, 1618. Your Lordships with all true devotion,

HENRY WOTTON.



THE

#### ELECTION

OF THE

#### NEW DUKE

OF

# VENICE,

After the Death of

#### GIOVANNI BEMBO.

N Friday, being the 16 of March, in this year 1618. about an hour before Sun-fetting, Giovanni Bembo the 91 Duke of Venice, ended his days in the 75 year of his Age: His Difease was a Fever, occasioned by some obstruction in his Reins, that stopped the course of his Water: Whe-

Whether the Physicians did halten his end, by taking from him more blood than his years could spare, is now too late a question. His name is one of the anciented among them. His Father was a Gentleman, almost of the lowest Poverty. till he matched with a wealthy Citizens Daughter, who afterwards proved the Heir of her Father leaving Isfue Male this Duke Giovanni and Philippo his Brother: Philippo (who only was imarried. being not the Custom of Wemen for more Brothers than one to take Wife) died some few Months before the Duke, in greater Reputation than Degree: For their Laws do suppress the Brothers of their Dukes. The Duke himself did arise by Imployments at Sea; His first Action of note was in the Battel of Lepanto; where, befides fome Wounds that he received for his own there, the fuccess of that great day, in fuch trepidation of the State, made every Man meritorious. He was laftly, (to omit his middle fleps) while the Republick flood under Excommunication by this Pope, (the King of Spain likewise then Arming) made General of their Maritime Forces. This is the folemnest Title they can confer under the Princedom, being indeed a kind of Dictatorship: to which they have no Charge equivalent on the Land, having been content (as it feems, in Honour of their Situation to give the Prerogative of Trust to that Element : To the Princedom he was chosen, being none of the Competitors then in voice. Who mable to make themselves, and unwilling to make their Concurrents, ( as the fashion is ) agreed in a Third : He held the place two years, three Months, and twelve days, with general good liking schongh indeed, his Prailes were mather Moral than Intellectu-

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all, as more confilting in goodness of Disposition. than any other eminent Ability. For he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, only no-table in his splendour and occonomical magnificence, beyond ordinary example, and perchance in another nature beyond Permission: For these Popularities among them are fomewhat hazard ous. To Ambassadours he gave small fatisfaction fave with his Eyes, which were very gracious and kind. In his Countenance otherwise, there was an invincible weakness, always blushing while he fpake, and glad when he had done. Whereby his Answers were the more fcant and meagre. But this did imitate Wisdom: For a Duke of Venice that opens himself much, will be chidden. To conclude, he was in his civil course a good Patriot , and in his natural, a good Man. They that are willing to censure him further, think his whole composition fitter for the quality of the State, than the tines. Now being thus palled away, the first publick Care was to order his Funeral ! till when the Custom doth not suffer that a new can be chofen. This was done the Thursday following with all due folemnity; and in the mean time was made five Correctors and three Inquisitors. The Correctors are to confider what Laws arefi t to be added or amended touching the future Electi-

or amended touching the future Electi
La Promif- on, or in the form of the Dukes Oath, which they gently call his \* Promife:

The Inquisitors are, upon Complaint (and not otherwise) against the deceased Prince, especially in matter of Extortion, to enquire of the truth, and accordingly to punish his Heirs. Which Office doth continue in Authority the term of a year. The Correctors at this time presented four new Laws.

1. That the Brothers and Children of the Prince Chall take place in publick Processions, after the principal Magistrates, namely, next to the Cenfors.

2. That immediately after the choice of any new Duke , in the next Grand Councel. [hall be openly rehearfed all former Decrees against Defrauders of the Publick Chefts. This they call in their Dialett Intacca-mento di Casse, as unpardonable here as Trea-

The other two merit no Memory, being only about little encrease of Provision for the Dukes Attendants, and some enlargement of time for the Correctors Office, which heretofore did determine as foon as the Election began.

These new Orders thus made, and approved by the Grand Councel (from whence all Authority floweth) they proceeded on Fryday morning to the

Election.

About which time were discovered four Competitors, Antanio Priuli, Gieconimo Giustiniano, Augustino Nani, and Niccolo Donato. The three first all Procuratori di St. Marco: Who are in number Nine. in degree the second Personages of the State, and commonly the Seminary of their Princes; though not of necessity, as well appeareth by the fourth Concurrent, who was yet no more than a Senator of the Wide Sleeve; a Veffute of eminent Gravity and Place in their Councels. Of these Print and Ginstiniano having before been chosen Commissioners in the Bulinels of the V/cocchi, were by a new Warning and Penalty in the Senate on Fryday before (the Prince then languishing) commanded to be gone. But this did not prejudice their Hopes. For I have noted one fingular property in the Composition of this State, That no mans fortunes

tunes, without other Demerits, are hindred by their absence.

Now it shall be fit to let down, with what Foundations, and with what Oppositions, they entred

the Lift.

Primi had passed through all the principal Charges of the State in the Civil way; and had lastly in the Military been Generalissimo (till sickness sent him home) in the Austrian Action. His own Family numerous; His Alliance strong; Himself a a man of moderate nature, of pleasant and popular Conversation, rather free than sowre and reserved; of good extemporal judgment and discourse; for the satisfying of publick Ministers, which is the Dukes proper part. Lastly, Threescore and ten years old (for that must not be forgotten among his helps.) But he suffered two Objections, though both rather within his Fortune, than his Nature. The one, that he was the Father of a Cardinal, which might distract his affections between the State and the Church. The other, that he was Poor and somewhat behind hand. Of which Objection on the other side, his Favourers made up part of his Merit, as having indebted himself in the publick Service.

Ginfiniano was a Gentleman, that had likewife pailed through the best places at home, of excellent Gravity and Judgment, and of most unquestionable Integrity; not violent, not avaritious. Singularly beloved of the people; to whole fatisfaction in a time of this nature, it was perhaps meet to yield somewhat. He was besides, one year elder than Prinsi; but his old age did not help him so much as he was hindred by the Antiquity of his Name. For the Princedom having been for the

two last Successions in the old Families, it was likely, the new would now strive to bring it back again

among their own Blood.

Nani had carried himself meritoriously in Foreign Imployments, particularly against the Pope, in the time of the Interdict; which held up his Credit among the good Patriots. And having been near the Supream place at the last Election, he re-entred now with the more hope. Besides, being by nature stiff and sensitive, his cunning friends did mould that to his advantage; the time seeming to need such a Man. But two wild rumors did much oppress him, The one with the bester sort, that he had purchased by close Gifts certain of the poor Gentlemens Favours: The other with the People, that he had of late been Author of some hard Decrees; his Age besides was but 63 years, and his complexion durable.

Donato (firnamed Testolina, for the littleness of his Head) had been long time conversant in the gravest Consultations, was reputed one of the wealthiest Gentlemen of the whole City, of good natural Capacity, and above the rest adorned with Erndition. Besides, he had the commendation of fourscore years, and of a weak Body. But it was thought somewhat presumptuous, that he should contend with persons of higher Rank: whereupon some conceived his end, only to gain a Friend by his voices, and to make himself Procurator in the room

of him that should be Prince.

With these hopes, and with these objections, they entred the Field, after they had laboured their Friends one whole Week, namely, from the Friday night of the Dukes Death, to the Friday morning following, and perhaps a good while before:

4 with-

within which time, at the place of their Broglio (as they term it) where the Concurrents fue for Voices, Nani the youngest of the four, was noted by some vacant searching Wits, to tread-softly; to walk stoopingly, and to raise himself from Benches where he sate, with laborious and painful gesture, as Arguments of no lasting man. Such a counterfeiting thing sometimes is Ambition. To come now to the Election.

The Election of the Duke of Venice is one of the most intricate and curious Forms in the World: confifting of ten feveral precedent Ballorations, Whereupon occurreth a pretty Question, what need there was of fuch a deal of folicitude in choosing a Prince of fuch limited Authority? And it is the stranger, for having been long in use, the ancient Forms being commonly the most simple. To which doubt, this Answer may serve the turn, That it was (as the tradition runneth) a Monk's Invention of the Benedictine Order. And in truth. the whole mysterious frame therein, doth much savour of the Cloyster. For first a Boy must be fnatched up below, and this Child must draw the Balls, and not themselves, as in all other Elections : then is it strangely intermingled, half with Chance, and half with Choice. So as Fortune. as well as Judgment or Affection hath her part in it, and perhaps the greater. One point (as now and then hapneth, even in the most curious Webs of this nature) feemeth fomewhat unequal. Namely, that the 41 (who are the last immediate Electors of the Duke) must be all of several Families, and of them twenty five at least concur to his Nomination. For hereby the old names (which are but twenty four ) cannot make a Duke without help

help from some one of the new. And that is not easily gotten, through emulation between them, as strong perhaps as any publick respect. So as the two last Dukes, Memo and Bembo, both of the ancient Blood, may upon the whole matter be accounted Irregularitives of Fortune, who hath likewise her Anomola.

Now to fet down the variations of Chance in every step of these Scrutinies, were tedious. Sure it is, that at the enclosing of the 41 ( for those must be shut up like our Jurors of Inquest, but that they are better fed) Donato had fifteen fure Balls. Nani twelve, Giuftiniano ten, and Priuli but four. So as no one of them had voices enough to exclude the other three from making a Duke : for to this Privative Power, are required seventeen Balls at leaft. Nor any two of them, except Doneto and-Nani had reciprocally an inclusive Power to advance each other by joyning: for though Donato might have made Giustiniano, yet he could not be made by him, because their united strength was but precifely twenty five, which number indeed would have ferved the turn, but that one of them on Donato's part (himfelf being of the number) must be abated. For contrary to the form of Election in the Empire, no man here can bestow his Ball upon his own person. So as upon the matter doth arise a kind of Riddle, that Donato was the weaker by his prefence.

Thus they stood in their several Strengths when they were shut up with a Guard about the Palace: where during this Election, all inserior Tribunals cease: only the College of the Preconsultors (as they term it) is daily open for the hearing of Ambassadors; the Senate likewise, and the High

Coun-

Councel of Ten in their ordinary vigour. They remained close twelve full days: In which time divers false voices were vented. But none of the Competitors arriving to a sufficient number of Balls, they fell (as the fashion is) to ballote some others that did not concur. Among whom, nothing was so memorable as the Ballotation of Lorenzo Viniero; who having in the late Fight at Sea. with the Neopolitan Fleet preserved his honour, when the rest were nearer, shame, had now eighteen Balls for the supream place of his Country, though otherwise as yet, of but small rank himself. At last these 41 Electors tired with tryals, Nani unable to make himself, not inclining to Giuftiniano, as being of an old House , with Prints privately distafted, and generally wishing him best, that was unlikelieft to live long: On Thursday morning. being the fifth of April, declared unto his Friends . that he would joyn with Donato: which the rest understanding, they owed (though not to him, yet) to themselves more good will, than not to favour that which they could not hinder. And fo Niccolo Donato was made Duke, with thirty nine Balls, his own exempted (as I have faid) by Law, and fome one of the rest shrinking, I know not how, per Capriccio pethaps, rather than despight. This is the fixth man under the Degree of a Procurator, that hath been made Duke fince the foundation of the City; which makes Nani the more odious among his other Colleagues, for advancing an inferior Order; which perchance hereafter upon the exsmple may grow more familiat. He was published with flight Applause, and with more approbation (as it feems) of the Stars, than of Men. For it is vulgarly reported from his own mouth, and here strongly

ftrongly believed, That an Aftrologer fome years fince in Padona, having cast his Nativity, told him he should die in Careere mobili, which they now apply to so restrained a Princedom, helping it with Concept; as commonly those kind of Predictions do need.

#### The Election of the following Duke after the death of Niccolo Donato.

N Tuesday the eighth of May, Niccolo Donato died, about two hours of the might, as near as the moment could be known, which his Nephews and Servants did conceal, and is never haftily published by the State. His Disease was an Apoplany, wherewith being surprized after a gentle fit or two of an Ague, he had no leffere, or no mind to alter a former Will, made while he was but a Senator, fo miferably, as if he had meant to be frugal even after his Death : For therein he left but twenty five Ducats to all his Servants, and only twenty to the Nuns of Sta. Chiara at Mur ano, where he disposed his Body to be laid. The short time of his Princedom (having been but a Month and two days) did yield little matter of observation. One thing was notable, that entring with fmall applause of the common men, he suddenly got their favours upon a false conceit. For a Decree

cree having passed in his Predecessors time about the reformation of Bakers (who made scant Loaves) and being conceived to be his deed, the Picheyity (whose supream Object is Bread) cryed in all corners, Viva Donato, In his Nature there was a strange Conjunction of two things rarely seen together, Love of Learning, and Love of Money. And this is

all that can be faid of him.

Now being gone, the following Election was likely to be short, the same Concurrence appearing as before, and the affections having been so newly founded and prepared. Therefore (not to extend discourse) the Dukes Funeral Rites being performed the Monday after his death, the Thur day morning following, Antonio Priuli was made Duke, with all Balls. For Giustiniano having but eight voices among the last One and forty Electors, and Nani (by strange and almost prodigious fortune) none, the foresaid eight friends of Giustiniano, unprofitable for him whom they loved best, did immediately concur with Priuli's thirty three voices. And so a solemn Amballage is preparing out of the body of the Senate to determine his Commission in Friuli, and to recal him to the supream honour of his Country. When at the very fame time, or little difference, one of the two Austrian Commissioners on the other side, is dead in the midst of the Treaty. So various are humane Fortunes and Conditions. ly town you had really of the or and a lead of the late to the late the late to the late the late the late to the late the late to the late the lat

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# MEDITATION

Upon the Twenty Second Chapter of GENESIS.

#### By H. W.

IN this Wonderful Piece of Sacred Story, behold the Father of the Believers, at extream Age, surprized (as it should seem by the Circumstances of the Text) in his Bed by a Commandment from GOD, to Sacrifice his only Son: In which case, all the powers of his mind being suddenly shaken with an infinite combat between Faith and Nature, we may upon the whole matter conceive Him to have broken forth into some such discourse with himself, as followeth.

WHAT! Could this possibly be the voice of GOD which I heard? or have not rather some strange Impressions of the Night deluded my Fancy? Yea, Thy Voice it was (my GOD) it was thy Voice: How can thy humble Servant deny it?

with whom feven times before defeeding from the Throne of thy Glory, thou haft vonchlafed even to

commune in this Vale of Tears.

When thou didft first call me out of the darkness of my Fathers House, into thy faving Light; when thou didst often cherish and encourage me in the fteps of my Pilgrimage; when thou didft furnish me with Plenty, and Crown me with Victory in a frange Land; when, laftly, thou didft even overlade my feeble age with joy, in a rightful Heir of mine own Body; was I forward at all these times to acknowledge thee the GOD of my support and comfort? and shall I now question thy Voice, when thou demandest but a part of thine own Benefits? No, (my dear Isaac) although the Heavens know how much I love thee; yet if thou wert, or couldest be Millions of times more precious in the Eyes of thy trembling Father, I would summon together all the strength of mine aged Limbs, to render thee unto that Gracious God from whom I had thee. Alas (poor Boy) how sweetly thou slumberest and in thy harmless Bed dost little think what change is towards thee! but I must disturb thy rest. Ifanc, arise, and call up my Servants; bid them prepare for a Journey which we are to make unto the Mount Moriah: and let some Wood be carried for the burning of a Sacrifice. Mean while I will walk out a little by my felf to contemplate the declining Stars, and the approach of the Morning.

O ye Ornaments of the Sky, who when all the World is filent, obey your Maker in the determinate Order of your Motions! Can Man behold his own duty in a fairer Volume? why then stand I gazing here, and do not rather go my self to hasten my Servants, that I may execute his Will? But

Itay:

stay: His Will? Why? Is his Will contrary to the example of his own Justice? did he not heavily punish Cain, even at the beginning of the first World, for killing but a Brother? and can I slay my Child; and imbrue my Hands in mine own Bowels, without offence of his Immortal Majesty? Yes; why not? The Act of Cain, was the Act of his own sinful malice; but I have received an immediate Command from God himself. A Command? Why? Is his Command against his Law? shall the Fountain of all Truth be served with Contradictions? Did not the same God, streight after the universal Deluge, (as our Fathers have told us) denounce this Judgment; That mboso sheddeth mans blood, his blood shall be shed? How then can I herein obey

my God, but I must withal disobey Him?

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Omy weak Soul, what poor Arguments doeft thou fearch to cover thine own rebellious affections! Is there any Warrant higher than his Will ? or any better Interpreter of his Will than himfelf? If the Princes of the Earth ( who are but mortal Types of his invisible Glory) can alter their Edicts at pleasure; shall not the Lord of the whole (whom Angels and Men adore) have leave to dispense with his own Prohibitions? yes furely: But then how shall the Blessing that my good God hath determined upon my Seed, and even upon this very Child, be accomplished, if I destroy the Root? O Lord, was not thy Divine goodness pleased, in the depth of thy Mercy, to accept my Belief for Righteousness? and shall I now frustrate thy promiles with my Obedience? But what ! am I fallen again into a new Reluctation? Have I before contested with thy Justice, and shall I now dispute thy Power ? Didft thou not create the Light before the

Sun? and the effect before the cause? and shall I bind thee to the Pallions of a natural Agent ? Didft thou not make this All of Nothing, even by thy Word (which was thy Wildom, ) and foment all that thou halt made by thy Spirit (which is thy Love ?) and shall I doubt but thou canst raise innumerable Nations, out of the very Ashes of my poor Ifaac? Nay, did I not even at the first receive him in a manner from a dead Womb? and art not thou still the same Almighty and ever living God, Merciful Father, full of all tenderness and compassion, that feeft from Heaven whereof we are made? Pardon my Discourses, and forget my Delays; I am now going to perform thy good Pleasure. And yet there is remaining one humble Suit; which refuse not (O my God) though it proceed from the weaknels of thine unworthy Creature: Take my Child, and all that is mine; I have refigned him with my whole Heart unto thy Will. He is already thine; and mine no longer; and I Glory that he shall die upon thy holy Altar. But yet I fear withal, that these my shaking hands, and fainting Limbs, will be feized with horror; be not therefore (Dear Lord) displeased, if I use my Servants in the Execution. How now, my Soul! doeft thou fhrink, in the last act of thy Loyalty? can I yet walk up and down about vile and ordinary Functions, and when my God is to be served, do my Joynts and Members fail me? have I humbled my defires to his Will, and shall I deny him the choice of his own Instrument? Or if his indulgent Mercy would permit it, shall I suffer another to anticipate the chearfulnels of my Obedience? O thou great God of Life and Death! who mightest have made me an infentible Plant, a dead Stone, or a poylonous Serpent,

pent, and yet even in that likewife, I should have conduced to the variety of thy glorious Wisdom; but hast vouchsafed to endue us with the form of Man, and to breath into our first Parent that spark of thy Divine Light which we call Reason, to comprehend and acknowledge therewith thy high and indisputable Soveraignty over all Nature; Thou then (Eternal maker and Mover, whose Will is the first of Causes, and whose Glory is the last of Ends) direct my Feet to the place which thou hast appointed; strengthen there these poor Hands to accomplish thy Pleasure, and let Heaven and Earth obey thee.

#### A

### MEDITATION

UPON

#### CHRISTMAS-DAT:

Of the Birth and Pilgrimage of our Saviour CHRIST on Earth

Glorious Morning, wherein was born the Expectation of Nations; and wherein the long Suspired Redeemer of the World, did (as his Prophets had cryed) rent the Heavens, and come down in the Vesture of Humanity! Thou, that by the Virtue

Virtue of the Highest, wert conceived in the Womb of an inviolate Virgin, of all Women the most bleffed : and yet more bleffed by being thy Daughter, and thy Servant, than thy Mother. Thou, at whose Birth the Quire of Heaven did fing Hallelujahs and Angels made hafte to acquaint even Shepherds with the news! Stay, my Soul, before Igo further, and crave leave of thy Lord to ask fome Questions. Why wouldest thou be first made known to the meanest condition of Men? why were they fent to fee their Saviour, not in fome gorgeous Palace, but in the vilest Room of a common Im, and (instead of a Cradle decked with Rich Imbroideries) lying in a Despicable Manger? Why didft Thou not choose for the Place of thy bleffed Mothers Delivery, either Athens the Learned, or Rome the Imperial, or Jerusalem the Holy City? Or fince poor Betblebem, by thy Prophets prediction, must receive that Honour, Why didst Thou not fend Millions of Cherubims and Seraphims before Thee for thy Harbingers? No, my God, it was Thy Will, it was Tby Will (which is the highest of Reafons) by thy low beginning in the flesh, to confound all Pride, and to teach the Glories of the Earth to blush. Yet, thus born, and thus homely received; behold, a new Star descending to illustrate thy obscurity, and to conduct the Wife Men of the East (now Wife indeed) with their choicest Prefents to adore Thee. Offrange Phanomenon! Did ever Hipparchus, or the great Trismegist, or the greater Moses, or all the Agyptian Gazers contemplate before fuch a Planet? So irregular, fo excentrical, as if the Celestial Lights had forfaken their proper Motions and Polition, to welcome the Lord of all Nature into the World!

And now, in the Course of Thy precious Life,
What

What shall I first, What shall I most admire? All is depth, all is wonder and amazement. Shall I first Celebrate Thy ever-bleffed Name, for convincing the great Doctors of the Law, at twelve years of Thine Age, when Thy Divine Effence began to blaze; which had lain before, as it were, flumbring in the Vail of Thy Manhood? Or shall I pass from this Miracle of Knowledge to Thy Miracles of Charity, in healing the Blind, the Lame, the Deaf, the Dumb? Or shall I more insist upon the Acts of Thy Powers: in checking the Winds, in walking on the Waves, in raising the Dead, in ejecting the impure Spirits? Or shall I remain stupified (as all the Learnedest part of the World was, which lay grovelling in the Contemplation of Inferiour Causes) that at Thy Coming, all their false Oracles and Delusions were frucken mure, and nothing to be heard at Delphos, or Hammon? Or shall I contemplate, that at Thy Pollion all Nature did fuffer, the Earth did shake; and the Heavens were darkened? Or laftly, after Then hadft triumphed over Death and Hell (whose Keys are in thine hand) shall I glorifie Thy Assumption into the Highest Heavens?

Yes, Lord, all this, and much more there is than the whole World can contain, if it were written: Yet one thing remains, even after Thy glorious Departure, for the comfort of our Souls, above all the Miracles of Thy Goodness, and of Thy Power, That Thou hast dispensed Thy saving Doctrine unto curious Men, not only by Eloquent Sophists, and Subtil School-men, (such as have since distracted and torn thy Church in pieces;) but by the simplest and silliest Instruments: so as it must need be Thy Divine Truth, since it was impressed by no Humane Means. For, give me leave again, my dear Lord, to demand, in

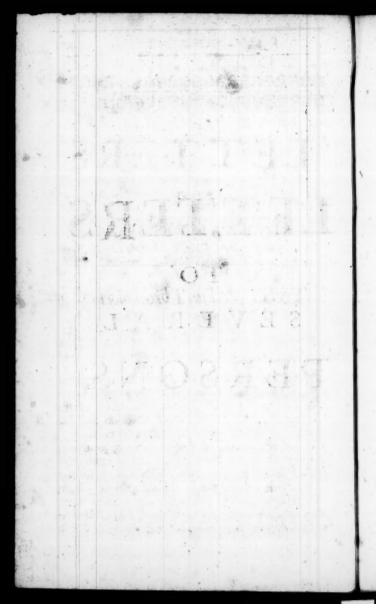
the ecstasse and Admiration of one of Tby blessed Vessels; Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? How should we have known, how should we have apprehended Tby Eternal Generation, if Tbou hadst not been pleased to vouchsase a filly Fisherman to lean on Tby Breast, and to inspire him to tell us from his Boat, that, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was

with God, and the Word was God?

Therefore to Thee, Thou Incornate Word, and Wisdom of the Father; Thou only true Message, in whom all Prophecies are accomplished, and in whom the Will of God, and the Desires of Men are fulfilled, look down upon us Thy unworthy Creatures, from where Thou sittest in thy Glory: Teach us Thy Love; but such a Love as doth sear to offend Thee: Teach us Thy Fear; but such a Fear as first doth love Thee. And indue us with Thy Grace, whilest by Thy Permission we walk on this Globe, which Thy blessed Feet have troden, to solemnize this Day of Thy Nativity, not with wanton Jollities, but with Hymns of Joy, and Meditations of like Comfort.

# LETTERS

several PERSONS.





### LETTERS

TO

SEVERAL PERSONS.

### To Sir Arthur Throckmorton.

SIR,

Have been desirous of some sit opportunity, to render you humble thanks for a very kind Letter, which I received from you; and I cannot have a sitter, than by the return of this Gentleman, who beareth much devotion to your Name: I will therefore by his honest hand, present you the service of a poor Scholar, for that is the highest of my own Titles, and in truth, the farthest end of my Ambition: This other Honour (wherewith it hath pleased his Majesty to cloath my unworthines) belonging unproperly unto me; who, I hope, am both born, and formed in my Education, fitter to be an Instrument of Truth V 4.

than of Art. In the mean while, till His Majesty shall resolve me again into my own plain and simple Elements, I have abroad done my poor endeavour, according to these occasions, which God hath o-

pened.

This Gentleman leaveth *Italy* in prefent tranquility, though not without a little fear of fome alteration on the fide of *Savoy*: Which Prince feemeth to have great and unquiet thoughts, and, I think, they will lack no fomentation from abroad. Therefore after the remembrance of my most affectionate poor fervice to your felf, and to my Honourable Ladies, your Wife and Daughters, and your whole Houle, (with which we are now so particularly conjoyned) I commit You and Them to our merciful God.

Your willing Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

### To Sir Arthur Throckmorton.

SIR.

Am forry that having fo good opportunity to write unto you, joyned with fo much Obligation, I have withal fo little matter at the prefent: yet I will entertain you with a few Rapfodies.

My Lord my Brother is remined a day fooner than he thought, out of Kem, for that the King (who

(who is now at Hampton-Court) hath appointed all his Counfellors, and all the Judges, to meet Him here to morrow about matters of the Mint, as it is voiced, perhaps to cover fome greater Subject, and yet Money is a great one.

On Saturday the King goeth to Windfer, there to honour with his presence both his Sons and his Fa-

vourites at their Instalments.

On Sunday last the new Venetian Ambassador had his first Audience at Greenwich: at which time the old took his leave, and received from the King three Honours, An addition of the English Lion to his Coat Armour, Knight hood, and the Sword with the Furniture from the Kings side, wherewith he had Knighted him: which last, being more than was done to any of his Predecessors, and done to him who had deserved less than any, is enough to prove, that wise Kings know how to do graces, and hide affections: so mystical things are Courts.

Now, to lead you a little abroad; for I have no more to fay within our own visible Horizon: We have advice out of Germany, that they have extorted from the Emperour his confent to make Matthias King of the Remans: fo as having first spoiled him of obedience and reverence; next, of his Estates and Titles; they have now reduced him to fo low a cafe, that he is no longer Patron of his own voice. Howfoever, this violent cure is likely to fettle the Motions of Germany; out of which Countrey, when thy are quiet at home, they may perhaps fend us some suiters hither. This is all (Sir) that I can write at the present; which is your advantage; for if there had been more, you had been further troubled: And fo with many hearty

hearty thanks for your kind Letters, and with many hearty wishes for the prosperity of your whole House, I humbly rest

May 8.

Your most affectionate
poor Friend to serve you,
HENRY WOTTON.

### Feb. 1613.

SIR,

NE Reason of my writing now unto you, is because it seemeth a great while unto me fince I did fo. Another, to give you many thanks (which upon the casting up of my reckonings, I find I have not yet done) for that Gelding wherewith you fo much honoured me: which, in truth, either for goodness or beauty runneth for one of the very best about this place; and I have had a great deal of love made unto me for him by no small ones. After this, I must plainly tell you, that I mean to perfwade you, I am forry I cannot fay, to invite you, (for my Mind would bear that word better than my Fortune) to beltow your felf, and your whole Family upon us this Shrovetide, if it be but for three dayes at the conjunction of the Thames and the Rhene, as our ravished Spirits begin to call it. The occasion is rare, the expence of time but little, of money inconfiderable: You shall see divers Princes, a great confluence of Strangers, fundry entertainments to shorten your patience, and to reward your travel: Finally, nothing spared, even in a necessitous time. I will add unto these

Arguments, that out of your own Store at home, you may much increase the beauty of this Assembly; and your Daughters shall not need to provide any great splendour of Cloathing, because they can supply that with a better contribution, as hath been well authenticated even by the Kings own testimony of them. For though I am no longer an Ambassador, yet am I not so bank-rupt of Intelligence, but that I have heard of those rural passages.

Now let me therefore, with this hobling Pen, again and again pray you to refolve upon your coming, if not with all the fair Train, yet your felf and my Lady, and my Nephew and his Wife, or at the

least of leasts, the Masculine.

We begin to leave off our mourning habits, and the Court will shortly, I think, be as merry as if it were not fick. The King will be here to morrow: The Friday following he goeth to Windfor, with the Count Palatine, about the Ceremony of his Instalment. In the mean time, there is expected the Count Henry of Nasjaw, to be at the faid Solemnity, as the Representant of his Brother. Yesternight, the Count Palatine invited all the Councel to a folemn Supper, which was well ordered: He is a Gentleman of very fweet hope, and hath rather gained upon us, than loft any thing after the first Impression. And so, Sir, having ended my Paper, I will end my Letter with my hearty prayers for the prosperity of your felf, and yours, ever refting

Your faithful poor Friend to serve you,

### To the King. 1615.

May it please Your Sacred Majesty,

Befeech your Majesty to pardon me a little short repetition, how I have spent my time since my departure from your Royal sight, because I glory in your goodness.

I have been imployed by your favour in four feveral Treaties, differing in the Matter, in the Instru-

ments, and in the Affections.

The first was for the fequestration of Juliers,

wherein I was joyned with the French.

The fecond for the provisional possession of the two Pretendents: wherein (contrary to the complaint of the Gospel) the Labourers were more than the Harvest.

The third was for a defensive League between the United Provinces and the United Princes: Who though they be separate Bodies of State, do now by your only Mediation, make one Body of

Strength.

The fourth was for the composing of some differences between your own and this People, in matter of Commerce; which hath exceeded the other Three, both in Length and in Difficulty, for two

Reasons as I conceive it:

First, Through the sensibleness of the Subject, which is private Utility: next, because it had a secret commixture of publick respects, and those of no light consequence: For surely, it importet more to let the King of Spain dispense alone the Commodities of the East, than for either of us to want them.

Now of the three former Treaties, I have given your Majeffy an accompt in divers Dispatches, according to my poor apprehensions. As for this last, that they have eafed my weakness in the conduct thereof (I mean my good Affociates, by whofe light and leadings I have walked) will eafe me like-wife, by your gracious leave, in the Relation. By them it may please your Majesty to understand in what fair terms we have left it; fomewhat refembling to my fancy those Women of Nombre de Dios, who (they fay) are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better Air: And fo I hope that our travels and unformed conceptions will take life in your own Kingdom, which will be more honour to their Birth. For our parts, I dare affirm of these your Commissioners, that now return unto the comfort of your gracious Afpect, That they have discharged their Duties and their Consciences, with all faithful care of your Majesties Commandments. I am confident likewife that they will give me their honest Testimony: And we are bound joyntly to profess unto your Majesty (from whom we receive our estimation) the respects and kindnesses that have been here done us, as your Vaffals.

And fo with my continual prayers to God for your bleffed Being, I here remain, vill your Majesty shall vouchfate me again the grace of your eves.

Your Majesties long devoted poor Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

## To the Marquels of Buckingham,

My most Noble Lord,

Will be bold, by this opportunity, to give His Majesty, through your Lordships hands, an account of a Command which I had from him at Theobalds, about sounding how the Venetian Ambassador stood satisfied with the late determination

touching his predeceffor Donato.

I did vifit the faid Ambaffador immediately at my return from the King, and faluted him, as by express Commandment; interjecting some words of mine own gladness, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would fignalize his beginnings. This I faid, because in truth I had found him always before the more passionate in it. by fome reflection upon himself. His answer (after due thanks for His Majesties gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was, that for his own part, he was Contentissimo, and had represented things home in the best manner. He hoped likewife it would be well tafted there also, though with fome doubt, because the State, out of their own devotion towards His Majesty, might form a confidence of expecting more.

I replied, that the King upon the matter (if we consider disgrace) had done more than themselves: for he was but once banished at *Venice*, and twice here; viz. once from the verge of the Court; and secondly from *London*; which was as much as could be done with preservation of rational immunities.

and

and more than would have been done at the fuit of of any other Ambaffador here resident; or perhaps of any of their own hereafter, if the like Cafe shall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings express will, that his particular refpect to the Republick. and to him in this business, should not be drawn into Examples. With this point he was not a little pleafed, for his own glory; and faid, that indeed Mafter Secretary Nanton had told him fo. This was the fum of what passed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end, (my dear Lord) as I am bound, in all the use either of my pen, or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgement of my great obligations towards your Lordfhip, which will make me refolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can some way shew my self

> Your Lordships most thankful, and faithful Servant,

> > H. W.

### To the King.

From Augusta the \{ 8\\ 18\} of August, 1620.

May it please Your most Sacred Majesty,

Rom this place I determined to make my first Dispatch unto Your Majesty, hoping in such Cities and Courts whereunto I had address on the way, to take up somewhat that should be

confiderable, and till then unwilling to entertain Your follicitous Mind with immaterial things.

I have hitherto been with five feveral Princes and Communities, the Duke of Loraign, the Arch-Duke, Leopoldus, the Town of Strasburg, the Duke of Wirtenberg, and the Town of Ulme, in the fame order as I have fet them down; among whom I fpent in all twelve days, and the rest of the time in uncessant journeys, whereof I shall now render Your Majesty a full account in the substance, retrenching

impertinencies.

Unto the Duke of Loraign, I had no credential address from Your Royal hand; and yet to pass filently (like a ftream through his Land) by a Prince of fo near conjunction in Blood with You, and intereffed in the scope of my errand, as a member of the Empire, had been some incongruity. Therefore excusing (as I might justly) the want of Letters, with my purpose to have taken another way, till I heard that the French King had cleared the confines of Loraign, by drawing fuch Forces as lay hovering there, with some hazard of Passengers, over the River of Marne towards Normandy: I fay after this excuse, I told him, I knew Your Majesty would be fingularly pleafed to understand by me of his health; and that I had, in transitu, conferred with him Your Christian ends, wherein you could nor but expect at his hands a concurrence both of Counfel and Affection. This I faid, to draw civilly from him as much as I could, being a Prince cumbered (as I found him) with the German troubles on the one fide, and the French on the other; and therefore bound to fludy the passages of both: especially having a State, which perhaps is harder for him to keep neutral than himself. In the rest of my

my discourse, I possessed him with two main heads of mine Instructions: First, with Your Majesties Innocency in the Bohemian bufiness at the beginning: next, with Your impartiality therein, even to this hour: both which did render You in this cause, the fitteft Mediator of the World. And fo I shut up all with this, That God had given Your Majesty two Eminent Bleffings; the one, Peace at home, the other (which was furely the greater, and the rarer) a Soul defirous of the like abroad; which You found Your felf tied in the Conscience of a Christian King to profecute by all possible means: therefore, though You had before in the beginning of the Bobenian Motions, fent Your good meaning by a folemn Ambassage to the Emperor, in the Perfon of a dear and zealous Servant of great Quality, even before any other King had entred into it, which, through the crudity of the matter, as then, took not the wished effect: yet now hoping that time it felf, and the experience of vexation, had mollified the affections, and better digested the difficulties, You had not refused by several Ambassages to both fides, and to all the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt again this high and Christian Work. Thus much, though in effect extracted from your Majesties own directions, I have here once rehearfed, to fave the repetition thereof in my following Audiences at other places.

The Dukes answer was more tender, than free, lamenting much the present condition of things, commending as much Your Majesties good mind, proclaiming his own, remitting the whole to those Great and Wife Kingsthat had it in hand, and concluding (with a voice, me thought, lower than before, as if he had doubted to be over-heard, though

in his private Chamber) that the Princes of the Union workl tell me what his affections were in the Caufe: For which I gave him thanks, commending in all events to his continual memory, that Your Majesties Daughter, my gracious Lady, and her Descendents were of the Blood of Loraign: Yea, faid he, and the Elector likewife. This was all that paffed from him of any moment. After which, he brought me to Monsieur de Vaudemont, whole principal business (as I hear) at the present, is to work the Dukes affent, and the Popes difpenfation, for a Marriage between his own Son and his Brothers Daughter; a thing much affected by that People, and no doubt fomented by France, to keep to important a Province from Strangers. In the mean while de Vaudemont's Son, for improvement of his merit and fame, is beltowed in the Command of those Troops, which were suffered to pass the Rheine at Brysack on Whitsen-Monday laft. Before I leave Loraign, I cannot but advertife Your Majesty that at Faltsbourg, a Town in the confines of that Province towards Elfatia (inhabited and built by many good men of the Religion) the Ministers came unto me, bewailing the case of the Inhabitants, who for some thirty years had possessed that place quietly, till of late by instigation of the Jefuits at Nancy, the Duke had given them warning to be gone within the term of two years, whereof some good part was expired. Their request unto me was, that by Your Majesties gracious Mediation, they might be received into a place within the Palatine Jurisdiction, near their present seat, which they offered to enlarge, and fortifie at their own charge, upon the grant of reasonable immunities: Which I have assumed to

treat

treat by Letter with Your Majesties Son-in-law, needing no other commission from Your Majesty in things of this nature, than Your own goodness.

The Arch-Duke Leopold, I was forced to feek three days journey from his ordinary feat; where, being at his private sports of the field, and no fit things about him, he defired me to turn back half a days journey to Mulzham, the notorious nest of Felints: commanding the Governors of his Towns, in the mean time, to use me with all due respects : among whom he made choice of an Italian, by name Ascanio Albertine, (a man of fingular confidence with him, and furely of very fair conditions) to found me, though in a merry fashion, and half laughing, (as there was good cause) how I would tafte it, if he should receive me in the Fesuits College: for at Mulzham those were his Hosts, being destitute of other habitation. I answered him, as merry as it was propounded, that I knew the Feluits had every where the belt rooms, more fplendent than true, fitter to lodge Princes than Monks; and that their habitations were always better than themselves. Moreover, that for mine own part, though I was not much afraid of their infection; and that Saint Paul did not refuse to be carried in a Ship, which was confecrated to falle Gods; yet because on our side they were generally, and (no doubt) justly reputed the true causes of all the troubles of the Christian World, I doubted it would be a scandalous Reception; and that besides, those Artificers would go near to make appear on my part, a kind of filent approbation of their Order and courfe. This was my answer, which being faithfully transported by the Italian, the Arch-Duke made choice of another mean house in the X 2 Town.

Town, where he received me truly in a noble fweet fashion: to whom having presented Your Majesties Letters, and Love, he disposed himself with sharp attention to hear me. To him, besides that which I had said to the Duke of Loraign, I added two things:

The first, that not only Your Majesty was clear of all fore-knowledge, or counsel, in the business of Bohemia; but likewise Your Son-in-law himself of any precedent practice therein, till it was laid upon him, as You knew by his own high affirma-

tions, and most infallible testimonies.

The fecond, that though Your Majesty to this hour did continue as equal betwixt both parties, as the Equinoctial between the Poles, yet about the time of my departure You were much moved, and the whole Land likewife, with a voice, I know not how foread abroad, that there were great preparations to invade the Nether Palatinate; which if it did fall out, Your Majesty should have just reason to think Your Moderation unthankfully requited; the faid Palatimate being the Patrimonial Lands of Your own Descendents, and no way connexed with the Bobemian Bufiness. Whereupon I perswaded him fairly, in Your Majesties Name, being a Personage of such Authority in the prefent Actions, to keep them from any fuch precipitious and impertinent rupture as might preclude all Mediation of Accord: and because Your Majesty had now, which was a second Argument of Your equity, fent feveral Ambassa-dors to the Fountains, for Your better Information in the merit of the Cause, by Your own Instruments, I befought him to illuminate me, who was the weakest of Your Creatures, as far as he should think fit, and to affift me with his best advice

vice towards this good end, whereunto, besides the dear Commandment of the King, my Master, I would confer mine own plain and honest zeal.

His answer, to all the points, which he had very orderly laid up, was this: Of Your Majesties own clearness he professed much affurance; of Your Son-in-law as much doubt, charging him both with close practice with the Bobemians at the time of the Emperours Election at Francfort, and more foully with a new Practice either by himself or by others, to introduce the Turk into Hungary. Of any defign upon the Lower Palatimate, he utterly difavowed all knowledge on his part; yet would not deny, but the Marques Spinela might perchance have some fuch aim; and if things went on, as they do, men would no doubt affail their Enemies wherefoever they should find them. In such Ambiguous clouds as thefe, he wrapped this point. Of the Emperors inclination to an agreement, he bade me be very affured; but never without Restitution of the Usurped Kingdom, which was not a loss of easie concoction, especially being taken from him by the Count Palatine his Subject, as he often called him; and once added, that he thought he would not deny it himfelf. Of the merit of the cause, he said he had sent divers Records and Papers to the Emperor, where I should find them.

Laftly, he acknowledged himself much bound unto Your Majesty for the Honor You had done him, to take such knowledge of his Person, and was contented to bestow some thanks upon me for mine honest inclination, which he would present, before my arrival, at Vienna. I had almost omitted a point touched by him, that he had knowledge of some English Levies coming toward the Palati-

nate: About which I cleared him, with confessing that Your Majesties People, and some of Your principal Nobility, had taken Alarm upon a voice of an Invasion there, and meant voluntarily to facrifice themselves in that action; but without any concurrence of Your Majesty thereunto, either by money or command. To which he replied, that in truth fo he had heard, and made no question of Your Royal Integrity. In the afternoon of this day, he took me abroad with him in his Coach, to shew me some of his nearer Towns and Fortifications; and there descended into many familiarities, and amongst other, to skew us how to make Frogs leap at their own skins; a strange purchase, me thought, at a time when Kingdoms are in question: But it may be it was an Art to cover his weightier Meditations.

Amongst other discourse, there was some mention of Your Majesties Treaty with Spain, in point of Alliance; which I told him, was a concluded business: for that warrant I had from Your own Royal mouth in Your Gallery at Theobalds, having let fall none of Your fyllables. Whereupon he faid, That he did not dispair upon so good an occasion, to falute Your Majesty in Your own Court. The morning following, he fent unto me Seignior Ascano, with express defire, that fince Your Majefties intentions were to clear, I would as frankly acquaint him, whether in mine Inftruments I had any particular form of accord to project unto the Emperor: Which himself likewise at my second Audience did fomewhat importunely prefs, excusing his curiofity with a good meaning, to prepare the Emperor, in as good manner as he could, to accept it. My answer was, that Your Majesty thought it first

necessary on both fides to dispose the affections, and then by reciprocal Intelligence between Your Servants from Vienna and Prague, to collect fome meafure of Agreement; for otherwife, if we should find both Parties fixed in extreme refolutions, it were a folly to spend any further the Honour of our Mafter. Here again he told me, that I should find the Emperor perswafible enough, if his Reputation may be faved: and for his own part, he thought that the Count Palatine, being the Inferior, might yield without prejudice of his. To terms of this height he revolved, and of the fame complexion are his Letters to Your Majesty, that I send herewith, of which I must needs say, that in some part, Olent Patrem Henricum, fo they call a Fesus of inward credit with him. Always true it is, that they were couched in the College, for his Secretaries were abfent, as the Italian told me, at his ordinary place' of refidence. At my leave taking, he spake with much reverence of Your Majesty with much praise of your Christian mind, and with much thankfulness of the Honour You had done him. He is a Prince of good stature, of fair complexion, inclining to fulnes: His face, the very best, as they tell me, of the House of Austria; and better indeed than his fashion. No curiofity in his cloathing, no affectation in his discourse; extream affable, both to strangers, and among his own: Patient of labour. and delighting in motion. In fum, little of a Bishop, save the Bishoprick and a long Coat; with which short character of his Person, I have taken the boldness to end, being (as I conceive it) the duty of Servants to repefent unto their Mafters the Images of those with whom they treat; and as well their natural as artificial Impressions.

X 4

Of Strasburg and Ulm, I may speak conjunctively, being of one Nature; both free, and both jealous of their freedom, which makes them fortifie apace. Towards me likewise they joyned in one point of good respect, namely, in not suffering me to come to their Senate-house, but in treating with me where I was lodged by the deputed Persons, out of the reverence (as they professed) due to Your Majesty, who had done them so much honour with Your Letters, and with Communication of Your ends by Your humble Servant. They both commended Your Majesties Christian intensions, and professed themselves hitherto in the same Neutrality; but because it were uncivil for them to contribute their Counfels, where fuch Kings did employ their Wisdom and Authority, they would only contribute their Prayers, with the like temperate conceits as these, appearing, likewise in their Letters, which I fend by this Bearer.

Into the Duke of Wirtenberg's Court I was received very nobly and kindly featted at his Table, with the Princes, and other great Ladies, and most part of the day lead by himself, to view his Gardens,

Buildings, and other Delights.

The material points collected here, I must divide partly into my discourse with himself, and partly into such knowledge as he commanded Monsieur Buvinckhousen to give me, which cometh in a Paper

apart, being very material.

In his own Speech, he made great profession towards Your Majesty, wherein no Prince of the Empire should exceed him; and as much toward the King of Bohemia, as he ever called Your Son inlaw: of whose clearness from all precedent practice, when I fell to speak, he told me, that in that

point

point he would ease me; for himself visiting the Elector, a little after he was chosen, he found him extreamly perplexed, even to Essusion of Tears, between these two Considerations. That if he accepted the offer, the World would falsely conceive it to have sprung from his Ambition; if he resused it, that People was likely to fall into desperate Counsels, with danger of calling more than Christian help. In the rest of his Discourse, I was glad to hear him often vow, that he would desend the Palatinate with all his Power, being tied thereunto not only by the Bond of Consederacy, but likewise by Reason of State, not to suffer a Stranger to Neighbor him.

I have now ended for the present Your Majesties trouble. There remain of my Commission, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Emperor. The Duke of Bavaria Ishall find actually in Arms about Lintz, in the upper Austria, and the Emperor at Vienna: from both places I will make several Dispatches unto Your Majesty, and afterwards weekly, or more frequently, as the Occasion shall Rise. Let this in the mean time end in my humble thanks to Almighty God for the repose of Your own Estates, and in my hearty Prayers for the Preservation of you dear and sacred

Person.

### Octob. 1620.

Right Honorable,

F my purpose to depart from Vienna, and to leave the Emperor to the Counsels of his own Fortune, I gave His Majesty knowledg by my fervant, James Vary.

I

I will now make you a furnmary accompt of what hath happened here, which is to be done bothout of Duty to your Place, and out of Obligation to

your Friendship.

The Count Tampier had some twelve days since taken from the Hungarians, by surprisal in the Field, thirteen Corners of Horse, and one Ensign of Foot, which here with much oftentation were carried up and down, and laid on Sunday was seven night under the Emperors seet, as he came from the Chap-

pel.

Some note, that the vanity of this triumph was greater than the merit; for the Hungarians by their ordinary discipline, abound in Corners, bearing one almost for every twenty Horse, so as Flags are good cheap amongst them, and but slightly guarded: Howfoever the matter be made more or less, according to the Wits on both sides, this was breve gaudium, and it felf indeed some cause of the following difaster; for the Count Tampier, being by nature an enterprizing man, was now also inflamed by accident, which made him immediately conceive the furprifal of Presburg, while the Prince of Transilvania was retired to the siege of Guns, fome fix or feven Leagues diffant. A project in truth, if it had prospered, of Notorious utility.

First by the very reputation of the Place, being

the Capital Town of Hungaria.

Next, the access to Comar and Rab (which places only the Emperour retaineth, in that Kingdom of any considerable value) had been freed by Water, which now in a manner are blocked up.

Thirdly, the incursions into these Provinces, and ignominious depredations had been cut off.

And

And laftly, the Crown of Hungaria had been recovered, which the Emperour Matthias did transport to the Castle of Presburg, after the deposition of Rodolph, his Brother, who always kept it in the Castle of Prague; which men account one of the subtil things of that retired Emperour, as I hear by discourse. So as upon these considerations, the enterprise was more commendable in the design, than it will appear in the execution; being thus carried.

From hence to Presburg is in this month of October an easie nights journey by Water. Thither on Thursday night of the last week. Tampier himself, accompanied with fome four or five Colonels, and other remarkable men of this Court, refolves to bring down in 25 Boats, about 2000 Foot, or fuch a matter; having given order, and space enough before, for certain Horse, partly Dutch, and partly Polonians, to be there, and to attend his coming about two hours before Friday morning. And to shadow this purpose, himself on Thursday in the afternoon, with affected noise goes up the River the contrary way, though no reasonable imaginations could conceive whither; for the lower Austria was then all reduced. By which Artificial delay, and by fome natural stops in the shallows of the Water, when they fell silently down again, it was three or four hours of clear day before he arrived at Presburg the next morning: Where his meaning was, first to destroy the Bridge built upon Boats, and thereby to keep Betblebem Gaber, (as then on the Austrian fide) not only from fuccouring the Town, but from all possibility of repassing the Danube nearer than Buda. Next, to apply the Petard to one of the Gates of the

the Cittad.1. Some wife fay, he had like inward intelligence, that at his approach, the Wicket of the Caftle should be opened unto him by one Palfy, an Hungarian Gentleman; which conceit, though perchance raised at first to animate the Souldier. yet hath gotten much credit, by feeing the enterprife against all discourse continued by day-light. Be that point how it will, his fatal hour was come: for approaching a Skonce that lyes by the Caftle gate, and turning about to cry for his men to come on, he was shot in the lowest part of his Skull nearest his Neck, after which he frake no fyllable, as Don Carolo d' Austria (second base Son to Rodolph the Emperour, and himself at that time faved by the goodness of his Armour) doth testifie. After which, fome two or three Souldiers artempting to bring away his Body, and those being shot, the rest gave it over, and the whole Troops transported themselves to the other side, leaving the Boats behind them, as if they had meant to contribute new Provision for the mending of the bridge, whereof they had only broken one little piece.

This was the end of the Count Tampier; By his Fathers side a Norman, by his Mothers a Champaigne, a Servant rwenty two years to the House of Austria. Himself Captain of a thousand Horse: but Commander divers times in chief, especially before the coming of the Count Bucquoy, from whom he was severed to these nearer Services, being of incompatible natures: a valiant, and ploting Souldier; In Encounters more fortunate than Sieges; Gracious to his own, and terrible to the Hungarians; To the present Emperous most dear, though perchance, as much for Civil, as Mili-

Military Merit: for this was the very Man that furst seized upon the Cardinal Clesel, when he was put into a Coach, and transported hence to Tirol: So as now we may expect some Pamphlet the next Mart from Ingolstat, or Colen; That no Man can end well, who hath laid violent hands upon any of

those Roman Purpurati.

To this point, I must add two remarkable Circumstances; The first, that Tampier, among other Papers found in his Pockets, is said to have had a Memorial of certain Conditions, whereon it should be fit to insist in his Parley with the Town, as having already swallowed the Castle. The other, that his Head having been cut off by a Souldier, and sold for five Dollars to another, who meant to have the merit of presenting it to the Prince, the Presenter was rewarded with a stroke of a Sable, for insulting over the dead Carkass of a Gentleman of Honor.

### Lord Bacon to Sir Henry Wotton.

My very good Cofin.

Lordship upon your going to Sea, was more than a Compensation for any former Omission; and I shall be very glad to entertain a Correspondence with you in both kinds, which you writ of: for the latter whereof I am now ready for you, having sent you some Ure of that Mine. I thank you for your Favours to Mr. Mevens, and

I pray continue the same. So wishing you out of that honourable Exile, and placed in a better Orb, I ever rest,

Tork-bouse Octob. 20. 1620. Your Lordship's

affectionate Kinsman,

and assured Friend,

Fr. Verulam Canc.

### Sir Henry Wotton to Lord Bacon.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

Have your Lordship's Letters dated the 20th. of October, and I have withal by the care of my Cousin, Mr. Thomas Memoris, and by your own special favour, three Copies of that Work, wherewith your Lordship hath done a great and ever-living benefit to all the Children of Nature; and to Nature her felf, in her uttermost extent and latitude: Who never before had so noble nor so true an Interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your Lordship) never so inward a Secretary of her Cabinet: But of your said Work (which came but this Week to my hands) I shall find occasion to speak more hereafter; having yet read only the first Book thereof, and a few Aphorisms of the second. For it is not a Banquet, that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their Pock-

ets; but in truth, a folid feaft, which requireth due maffication. Therefore when I have once my felf perused the whole, I determine to have it read piece by piece at certain hours in my domestick College, as an ancient Author: For I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extreamly mistaken in the computation of Antiquity, by fearching it backwards, because indeed the first times were the youngest; especially in points of natural discovery and experience. For though I grant, that Adam knew the natures of all Beafts. and Solomon of all Plants, not only more than any, but more than all fince their time; Yet that was by divine infusion, and therefore they did not need any fuch Organum as your Lordship hath now delivered to the world: nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their Wisdom.

But I am gone further than I meant in speaking of this excellent Labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain Congeniality (as I may term it) with your Lordfhips studies, will scant let me cease: And indeed I owe your Lordship even by promise (which you are pleafed to remember, thereby doubly binding me) fome trouble this way; I mean, by the commerce of Philosophical Experiments, which furely, of all other, is the most ingenuous Traffick: Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I faw coming down the Danube, though more remarkable for the Application, than for the Theory. I lay a night at Linez, the Metropolis of the higher Austria, but then in very low effate, having been newly taken by the

Duke of Bavaria; who, blandiente fortuna, was gone on to the late effects: There I found Keplar,

a Man Famous in the Sciences, as your Lordship knows, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your Books, that he may fee we have fome of our own that can Honor our King, as well as he hath done with his Harmanica. In this Mans study I was much taken with the draught of a Landskip on a piece of Paper, methoughts Mafterly done: whereof inquiring the Author, he bewrayed with a fmile, it was himself; adding, he had done it, Non tanquam Pictor, sed tanquam Mathematicus. This fet me on Fire: At last he told me how. He hath a little black Tent, (of what stuff is not much importing) which he can fuddenly fet up where he will in a Field. and it is convertible (like a Wind-mill) to all Quarters at Pleasure, capable of not much more than one Man, as I conceive, and perhaps at no great eafe; exactly close and dark, fave at one hole, about an Inch and a half in the Diameter, to which he applies a long perspective Tounk, with a Convex glass fitted to the faid hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected Tent, through which the visible Radiations of all the Objects without, are intromitted, falling upon a Paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with his Pen in their natural Appearance, turning his little Tent round by Degrees, till he hath defigned the whole Afpect of the Field. This I have described to your Lordship. because I think there might be good use made of it for Chorography: for otherwife, to make Landskips by it were illiberal; though furely no Painter can do them fo precifely. Now from these Artificial and Natural Curiofities, let me a little direct your Lordship to the Contemplation of Fertune.

Here, by a fleight Pattel full of Miserable Errors, (if I had leifure to fet them down) all is reduced, or near the point. In the Province there is nothing but of Fluctuation and Submillion, the ordinary Confequences of Victory; wherein the Triumphs of the Field do not fo much Vex my Soul. as the Triumphs of the Pulpit: For what noise will now the Jesuite disseminate more in every corner, than vixtrix Causa Deo placuit; which yet was but the Gospel of a Poet: No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things Zifca did in the first Troubles of his Countrey, that were grounded upon Conscience, I am tempted to believe the All distinguishing Eye hath been more displeased with some Human Affections in this Business, than with the Bufiness ir felf.

I am now preparing my departing toward my other Imployment, for in my first Instructions I had a power to go hence, when this Controversie should be decided, either by treaty, or by Fortune; whereof now the worser means have perverted the better.

Here I leave the French Ambassauors upon the Stage, as I found them; being willing (quod felum superest) to deal between the Emperor and Betblebem Gabor, with whom I have nothing to do as he is now singled.

Betwixt this and Italy I purpose to collect the memorablest Observations that I have taken of this great Affair, and to present a Copy thereof unto your Lordships Indulgence, not to your severe judgement.

The present I cannot end (though I have too much usurped upon your precious time) without the return of my humble thanks unto your Lord-hip.

ship, for the kind remembrance of my Cousin, Mr. John Meantis, in your Letter to me, and of your Recommendation of him before; being a Gentleman, in truth of sweet Conditions and strong Abilities: I shall now transport him over the Alpes, where we will both serve your Lordship, and love one another. And so beseeching God to bless your Lordship with long Life and Honor, I humbly rest,

Your Lordship's.

Right Honourable,

F my appearing to this State, and of my Reception here, I gave your Lordship notice by my former Letters.

The Counsels of this State I find to be calm; for the new Pope hath affured them, He will keep

forms out of Italy.

True it is, that he hath bravely denyed already passage to the Neopolitan Cavalry and Infantry, through the Ecclesiastical State, though instantly pressed by the Spanish Ambassador; in which Humor, if he shall persevere without warping, we shall think him here

a well-feafoned piece of Timber.

We here of an Ambassador from Savoy on his way to you; C. C. a plain Instrument from a subtile Prince, and therefore the more proper to deceive us, and to be first deceived himself. The Business I shall need not to tell you, nor indeed can I say much of the hope of it.

How we stand here, will appear by the rwo en-

closed Copies.

—But for those things I shall give his Majesty continual Advertisement, as time shall change the prospect of this Theater, whereon I am placed.

So with all my duties remembred, as well those of Thankfulness, as those of Affection, I will sub-

fcribe my felf, as truly I am,

Your Lorship's, &c.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

This very Morning, which is the Nuncio's Ordinary day of Audience, He hath surprized the Duke and Senators with presentation of a Jubile unto them from his Master. Some discourse, that it is to gain Fame and Favour by an indulgent Beginning.

## To the Marquels of Bucking-

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Know your Lordship cannot want Presents of the best kind from all Countreys, if you would be but pleased to bewray your Delire: For your Favour is worthy to be studied, both because Y2

you are powerful, and because in the common Judgment (of which we hear the found, that are far

off) you imploy your power nobly.

For my part, though I am not able to reach unto any thing proportionable to your Dignity, nor even to mine own mind; yet I must not suffer Venice (where I have served the King so long) to be wholly disgraced. And therefore I have taken the boldness in a Ship newly departed from this Harbour, to send your Lordship two Boxes of poor things: which because they need a little explication, not so much for their value, as their use, I have desired Mr. Nicholas Pey, one of the Clerks of his Majesties Kitchin, who is my friend of trust at home in all my occasions, to acquaint your Lordship with a note of them, Wherein my end is plain, only to excite your Lordship with this little taste, to command me surther in whatsoever may better please you. And so I most humbly commit you to Gods Blessed Love.

Venice this
16th. of May,

Your Lordship's, with ail Devotion, to serve you, H. W.

# To the Lord Keeper Williams (ut videtur) 162!.

Right Reverend, and Right Honorable, my very good Lord,

Aving not yet passed with your good Lordship so much as the common duty of Congratulation, (to whom I am so obliged, both both for your Love to my Dearest Nephew, and for your Gracious Remembrances of mine own poor Name) I thought it even a particular Duty to my felf, to acquaint your Lordship's Secretary, my Antient and Worthy Friend, with the Story of mine own Evils, that your Lordship may know my filence to have been, as I may well term it, a

Symptom of my Infirmity.

I am now ftrong again to ferve your Lordship, and I know that I have a Friend of Trust at home (it is Honest Nicholas Per that I mean ) who hath often leave, by your Favour to wait upon you. Therefore I could wish, if this place (where I am grown almost a free Denison) may yield any thing for your use or delight, that you would be pleased either to acquaint me by my faid Friend plainly (which shall be a new obligation) with your Commands, or at least to let him mark your Defires. Now in the mean time, because I know that I can do your Lordship no greater Service, than to give you occasion of exercising your own goodness, I will take the Freedom most humbly and heartily to recommend unto your Charitable and Honourable Affections, a very worthy Person, whose Fortune is no better at the present, than to be my Chaplain; though we are, or at least ought all to be the better by his vertuous example, and our time the better fpent by his Learned convertation. I shall, I think, not need to Name him to your Lordship, and as little to insist either upon his Moral or intellectual Merit. Therefore I will fo leave it, and commit him to your gracious Memory, upon some good occasion that God may lay before you. And now I would end, but that I conceive it a duty to tell your Lordship first, how we fland here at this date. For Abaffadors (in our old Kentish Language) are but Spies of the

time.

We are fludying how we may fafely and cheaply countenance the new Motions of the Garrifons, with an Army on our own Borders pointing that way; which even Reason of State requireth, when our Neighbours are ftirring. And therefore yet the King of Spain can take no scandal at a common wifdom. If the Succeffes shall go forward according to the beginnings, Prosperity, peradventure, may invite us, further to the Feast. For my part, if they would have tafted my Counfels, they had been long fince engaged, both within and without Baly, But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds. And fo concluding with my hearty Congratulations for your Lordships Promotions, both Spiritual and Civil, and with my prayers for your long enjoynment of them, I will unfaignedly fubscribe my self,

Your good Lordship's devote to serve you,

H. W.

SIR,

Aving not long written unto you, whose Friendship towards me hath given you a great interest in me; I send you a keport of a late Transaction, even for a little entertainment,

in

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e fment, leaft you should think me to live without ob-

For that the Cafe of the late Cavalier Antonio Foscarini hath been diversly misreported, and perhaps not the leaft, even by those that were his Judges, to cover their own difgrace, I have thought a little curiofity not ill fpent in refearch of the whole Proceeding, that his Majesty ( to whom he was fo well known) may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example. There is among the partitions of this Government a very awful Magistracy under Title of Inquisitori di Stato; to which are commonly deputed three Gentlemen of the gravest and severest natures, who receive all fecret Delations in matter of practice against the Republick, and then refer the fame, as they shall judge the confequence thereof, to the Decemviral Councel, being the fupreamest Tribunal in Criminal Enquires; of which Body they are usually themfelves.

To these Inquisitors, about the beginning of April last, came two Fellows of mean condition, Born about the Lago di Garda, but Inhabitants in Venice, by name Girolamo and Domenico Vani; as fome fay, Uncle and Nephew; certainly near of kindred, which in this report is a weighty circumstance; for thereby they were the likelier to conspire, and consequently their united Testimonies of the less validity. These Persons capitulate with the inquisitors of that time (whose names may be civilly spared) about a reward (which is usual) for the discovery of some Gentlemen, which at undue times, and difguifed Forms, did haunt the Houses of Foreign Ministers, and in particular, of the Spanish Agent: who being the most obnoxious to Publick

Publick jealousie, these Accusers were likeliest upon that Subject to gain a favourable hearing. In the head of their fecret Lift, they nominate Anthonio Foscarini, then an actual Senator, and thereby upon pain of Death restrained from all conference in this ombragious State with publick Instruments, unless by special permission. To verifie their difcovery, besides their own Testimonies, they alledge one Giovan Battifta, who served the foresaid Spanish Agent, and had, as they faid, acquainted them with the Accesses of such and such Gentlemen unto him. But first they wished, or so the Inquisitors thought fit, to proceed against Foscarini, upon this double attellation, without examining the foresaid Giovan Battiffa; because that would stir some noise, and then perhaps those other, whom they meant to delate, might take fear and escape: Hereupon Foscarini, coming from the next Senate at night down the Palace, was by order of the Inquifitors fuddenly muffled, and so put in close Prison, and after usual Examinations, his own fingle denyal being not receivable against two agreeing Informers, he was by Sentence at the Councel of Ten, some fifteen days after his retention, strangled in Prison, and on the 21. of the forefaid April, was hanged by one Legona Gallows in the publick Piazza, from break of day till Sun-fet, with all imaginat le circumstances of Infamy: his very face having been bruifed by dragging on the Ground, though fome did confter that for a kind of favour, that he might be the less known.

After this the same Artificers pursue their occupation, now animated with success; and next they name Marco Miani. But one of the Inquistors, either ty Narure more advised than the reft;

or intenerated with that which was already done, would by no means proceed any farther, without a pre-examination of the forefaid Giovan Battifta: Which now might the more conveniently, and the more filently be taken, because he had left the house of the Spanish Agent, and was married in the Town to a Gold-imiths Daughter. To make short, they draw this man to a fecret account; where he doth not only difavow the having ever feen any Gentleman in the Spanish Agents House, but likewife all fuch Interest as the Accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never fpoken with any of them, but only three words by chance with the elder, namely Girolamo, upon the Piazza di St. Stephano. Hereupon the Inquisitors confronted him with the Accusers; they confess without any Torture their malicious Plot, and had Sentence to be hanged, as was afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection, the Nephews of the Executed Cavalier, namely Nicolo and Girolamo Foscarini, make haste to present a Petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the DecemviralTribunal, That the false Accusers of the abovefaid Merco Miani, might be re examined likewife about their Uncle. The Counsel of Ten, upon this Petition, did affemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before; and there they put to voices. Whether the Nephews should be fatiffied?

In the first Ballotation, the Balls were equal: in the second, there was one Ball more (as they say) in the negative Box: Either because the salse Witnesses, being now Condemned men, were disabled by course of Law to give any farther Testimony, or for that the Councel of Tin thought it Wisdom to smother an

irrevocable error. The Petition being denied, ro possible way remained for the Nephews to clear the defamation of their Uncle (which in the rigour of this Government, had been likewise a stop to their own Fortunes) but by means of Confessor. to whom the Delinquents should disburthen their fouls before their death; and by him, ar imporninity of the faid Nephews, the matter was revealed: Whereupon did enfue a folemn Declaration of the Councel of Ten, touching the Innocency of the foresaid Anthonio Foscarini, eight months and twenty five days after his death. Whether in this case there were any mixture of private passion, or that perhaps some light humours, to which the Party was subject, together with the taint of his former Imprisonment, might precipitate the credulity of the Judges, I dare not dispute: But furely in 212. years that the Decemviral Tribunal hath flood there was never cast upon it a greater blemish; which being fo high a Piece, and on the reputation of whose grave and indubitable proceedings the regiment of manners hath most depended, is likely to breed no good confequence upon the whole. Since the foresaid Declaration, the Nephews have removed the body of their Uncle from a place where condemned Persons are of custom interred, to the Monument of their Ancestors in another Temple. and would have given it a folemn Burial: having been kept (though rather by diffwasion then prohibition) from increasing thereby the publick Scandal, they now determine to repair h's fame with an Epitaph, the last of miserable remedies. It is faid, that at the removing of his Body, his Heart was found whole: which kind of conceits are easily entertained in this Country, and fcant

fcant any notable case without some superstitious adjunct. It is faid likewise, that by Testament he did appoint a great fumm for him that should discover his Innocency: which receiving from credible Authors, I was willing not to omit; because it argueth, that notwithstanding some outward lightness, he was composed of generous Elements. Certain it is, that he left divers Legacies to the best Patriots, as now appeareth not artificially. But here I may breed a question, with which I will end this report : How a man in his case could dispose of his Fortune? I must answer, That in the composition of this State Confiscations are rare, be the Crime never fo high, unless in case of interverting the publick Money; which the Delinquent is commonly Condemned to repair, not fo much in the quality of a Traytor, as of a Debtor. Whereof fearching the Reason, I find this to be the most immediate; That if in a Dominion meerly managed by their own Gentry, they should punish them as much in their means, as in their persons, it would in conclufion prove a punishment, not of particulars, but of the general: For it is a rule here, that the poorest Families are the loofest.

### To the DUKE.

My most boncured Lord and Patron,

Hese poor lines will be presented unto your Lordship by my Nephew (one of your obliged Servants) and withal some description, as I have prayed him, of my long infirmities, which have cast me behind in many private, and often in-

terrupted even my publick Duties; with which yet I do rather feek to excuse some other Defects of Service, than my silence towards your Lordship. For to importune your Lordship seldom with my Pen is a choice in me, and not a Disease, having resolved to live, at what distance soever from your sight, like one who had well studyed before I came hither, how secure they are whom you once youchsafe any part

of your love.

And indeed, I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious Lines; for thereby I fee that your Lordship had me in your Meditation, when I scant remembred my felf. In Answer of which Letter. after some respite from mine own Evils. I have deputed my faid Nephew to re-deliver my Fortune into your Noble hands, and to affure your Lordship, that as it should be chearfully spent at your Command, if it were Prefent and Actual, (from whose Meditation I have derived it) fo much more am I bound to yield up unto your Lordship an absolute Disposition of my Hopes: But if it shall please you therein to grant me any parr of mine own Humor, then I would rather wish some other Satisfaction than Exchange of Office; yet even in this point likewise I shall depend on your will, which your Lordship may indeed Challenge from me, not only by an humble Gratitude, and Reverence due to your most worthy Person; but even by that natural Charity and Discretion which I owe my felf: for what do I more therein, than only remit to your own Arbitrement the Valuation of your own goodness? I have likewise committed to my forefaid Nephew some Memorials touching your Lordships Familiar Service (as I may term it) in matter of Art and Delight. But though I have laid these Offices

Offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own Pen to give your Lordship an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your Love, than I was of the Honor to receive him from you. We are now, after his well-spent Travels in the Towns of purer Language, married again till a Second Divorce; for which I shall be forry, whensoever it shall happen. For in truth (my good Lord) his Conversation is both Delightful and Fruitful; and I dare pronounce. that he will return to his Friends as well fraught with the best Observations, as any that hath ever fifted this Country; which indeed doth need fifting, for there is both Flower and Bran in it. He hath divided his abode between Siena and Rome: the reft of his time was for the most part spent in Motion. I think his purpose be to take the French Tongue in his way homewards, but I am persuading with him to make Bruxels his Seat, both because the French and Spanish Languages are familiar there; whereof the one will be after Italian a sportunto him, fo as he may make the other a Labor: And for that the faid Town is now the Scene of an important Treaty, which I fear will last till he come thither; but far be from me all Ominous Conceit. I will end with chearful Thoughts and Wishes; befeeching the Almighty God to preserve your Lordship in Health, and to cure the Publick Difeases. And so I ever remain

Venice, July 29. 1622. Your Lordship's most devoted, and obliged Servant,

H. WOTTON.

#### To the DUKE.

My most benoured and dear Lord,

O give your Lordship occasion to exercise your noble Nature, is withal one of the best exercises of mine own duty; and therefore I am confident to pass a very Charitable motion through your Lordships hands and mediation to his

Majesty.

There hath long lain in the Prison of Inquisition. a constant Worthy Gentleman, viz. Master Mole: in whom his Majesty hath not only a right as his Subject, but likewise a particular interest in the Cause of his first Imprisonment: For having communicated his Majesties immortal work, touching the Allegiance due unto Soveraign Princes, with a Florentine of his familiar acquaintance, this man took fuch impression at some passages, as troubling his Conscience, he took occasion at the next shrift, to confer certain doubts with his Confessor; who out of malicious cutiofity, enquiring all circumftances, gave afterwards notice thereof to Rome, whither the faid Mole was gone with my Lord Ross; who in this flory is not without blame: but I will not disquiet his Grave.

Now having lately heard that his Majesty, at the suit of I know not what Ambassadors, (but the Florentine amongst them is voiced for one) was pleased to yield some releasement to certain restrained Persons of the Roman Faith; I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his Clemency therein, the great Duke would be easily moved, by the Kings gracious request, to interceed with the Pope for Master Mole's delivery: To which

purpose,

purpose, if it shall please His Majesty to grant His Royal Letters, I will fee the Bufiness duely purfued. And fo needing no Arguments to commend this Proposition to His Majesties goodness, but his goodness it self, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble Hand. Now touching your Lordships familiar Service, (as I may term it) I have sent the Complement of your Bargain, upon the best provided, and best manned Ship that hath been here in long time, called the Phanix. And indeed the cause of their long stay, hath been for some such Vessel as I might truft. About which, fince I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice: fo as now the one Piece is the Work of Titian, wherein the least Figure (viz. the Child in the Virgins lap playing with a Bird) is alone worth the price of your Expence for all four, being fo round, that I know not whether I shall call it a Piece of Sculpture, or Picture: and fo lively, that a Man would be tempted to doubt, whether Nature or Art had made it. The other is of Palma, and this I call the speaking Piece, as your Lordship will fay it may well be termed; for except the Damfel brought to David, whom a filent Modelty did best become, all the other Figures are in Discourse and Action. They come both diftended in their Frames: for I durft not hazard them in Rowls, the youngest being 25 years old, and therefore no longer fupple and plyant. With them I have been bold to fend a Dish of Grapes to your Noble Sister, the Countels of Denbigb, prefenting them first to your Lordships view, that you may be pleased to pass your censure, whether Italians can make Fruits as well as Flemings, which is the common glory of their Penfils. By this Gentleman, I have lent the choicest

choicest Melon seeds of all kinds, which His Majesty doth expect, as I had Order both from my Lord of Holderness, and from Mr. Secretary Calvert. And although in my Letter to His Majesty (which I hope by your Lordships favor, himself shall have the Honor to deliver, together with the faid Seeds) I have done him Right in his due Attributes; yet let me fay of him farther, as Architects use to fpeak of a well chosen Foundation, that your Lordship may boldly build what Fortune you please upon him, for furely, he will bear it vertuoully. I have committed to him for the last place. a private Memorial touching my felf, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordships Intercession upon a necessary Motive. And so with my heartiest Prayers to Heaven for your continual Health and Happiness, I most humbly rest,

Venice, Dec. +1. Your Lordship's ever

obliged, devoted Servant,

H.W.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

My Noble Lord, It is one of my Duties to tell your Lordship, that I have sent a Servant of mine (by Profession a Painter) to make a search in the best Towns through Italy, for some principal Pisces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordships Contentment and Service.

To

# To the Earl of Holderness, 1627.

Right Honovable, and my very good Lord,

Na late Letter from your Lordship by my Servant, I have, befides your own Favours, the Honour of Imployment from the King, in a piece of his Delight: which doth fo confort with the opportunity of my Charge here, that it hath given me acquaintance with fome excellent Florifis. (as they are ftyled;) and likewife with mine own disposition, who have ever thought the greatest pleafure to confift in the simplest Ornaments and Elegances of Nature; as nothing could fall upon me more happily. Therefore your Lordship shall fee how I will endeavour to fatisfie this Command. I had before Order by Mr. Secretary Calvert, to fend his Maiefty some of the best Melon seeds of all kinds; which I have done fome Weeks fince, by other occasion of an express Messenger; and fent withal a very particular Instruction in the Culture of that Plant. By the present Bearer I do direct unto your Lordship, through the hands either of my Nephew, or Mr. Nicholas Pey (as either of them shall be eadiest at London) for some beginning in this kind of Service, the Stem of adouble Yellow Rofe, of no Ordinary Nature; For it flowereth every Month (unless change of the Clime do change the property ) from May, till almost Christmas. There hath gone fuch care in the manner of the Conveyance, as if at the receiving, it be prefently put into the Earth, I hope it will pro-7. fper.

fper. By the next commodity I shall fend his Ma-

jefty fome of the rarest Seeds.

Now for mine own Obligations unto your Lordship, (whereof I have from some Friends at home very abundant knowledge) What shall I fay? It was in truth (my Lord) an argument of your noble Nature, to take my fortune into your Care, who never yet made it any great part of mine own business. I am a poor Student in Philosophy, which hath redeemed me not only from the envying of others, but even from much folicitude about my felf. It is true, that my most Gracious Master hath put me into civil practice, and now after long Service, I grow into a little danger of wishing I were worth fomewhat: But in this likewise I do quiet my thoughts: For I fee by your Lordships fo free, and so undeserved estimation of me, that like the Criple, who had lain long at the Pool of Bethefda, I shall find some body that will throw me into the Water when it moveth. I will end with my Humble and Hearty thanks for your Favour, and Love

#### To the PRINCE.

May it please Your Highness,

Beside that which I have now represented unto your Highness, by my Letter to your worthy Secretary. I must humbly crave leave herein to be delivered of a boldness wherewith my Pen is in travel.

I have

I have observed in your Highness, among other noble endowments of your Mind, a quick and delightful apprehension of the fundamedtal Causes of all Secrets, both Natural and Artificial, that have been brought to your View; which furely is the highest pleasure of a discoursive Soul. Now of this part of your Highness's delectation, I am serious to take hold. For having been a long Lover of Philosophy, and from the contemplative Part, being flid into the practical; I shall hope for pardon, if I take fo much Freedom from the ingenuity of mine own Nature, and Studies, as to entertain your Highness now and then, with some Experiments, especially such as do not end in wonder, but reach to publick Use: For meer Speculations have ever feemed to my conceit, as if Reason were given us like an half Moon in a Coat of Arms, only for a Logical Difference from inferiour Creatures, and not for any active power in it felf. To begin therefore, by your Gracious Leave, this kind of Intelligence with your Highness; I have charged this Gentleman with the humble Prefentation of a Secret unto you, not long fince imparted to this State, and rewarded with a Pension to the Inventer, and to his Posterity; the scope being indeed of fingular use, and at the first hearing, of as much admiration: namely, a way how to fave Gunpowder from all milchance of Fire in their Magazines, to whom thy have been very obnoxious by a kind of fatality. The thing it felf in a fmall Bulk, with the description thereof, according to mine own Trial and Observations, will be configned to your Highness apart from this Letter.

And for having laid a beginning to these poor Z 2 Philo-

Philosophical Services, with hope of incouragement therein by Your favourable acceptation, I will conclude with my humblest Prayers to the Soveraign Lord of all Nature, and Fountain of all Knowledge, to continue his Sweet and Dear Bleffings upon Your Highness. To whom I remain, &c.

#### To the DUKE.

May it please your Grace,

Aving fome days by fickness been deprived of the comfort of your fight, who did me so much Honor at my last access, I am bold to make these poor lines happier than my self: and withal, to represent unto your Grace (whose noble Patronage is my refuge, when I find any occasion to bewail mine own Fortune) a thing which seemed strange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majesty hath already disposed the Venetian Ambassage to Sir Isaac Weake; from whose sufficiency if I should detract, it would be but an Argument of my own weakness.

But that which herein doth touch me, I am loth to fay in point of Reputation, furely much in my livelihood (as Lawyers speak) is, that thereby, after seventeen years of Foreign and continual employment, either ordinary, or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home; much like those Seal-sishes, which sometimes (as they say) oversleeping themselves in an Ebbing-water, seel nothing about them but a dry

fhoar

fhoar when they awake. Which comparison I am fain to seek among those Creatures, not knowing among men, that have so long served so gracious a Master, any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate bareness. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your Love, so make me worthy in this, of some part of your compassion. So I humbly rest,

Your Graces, &c.

H. WOTTON.

#### 1626.

My dear Nic. Pey.

His is the account of me fince you faw me laft.

My going to Oxford was not meerly for shift of Air, otherwise I should approve your Counsel to prefer Boughton before any other part whatfoever; that Air best agreeing with me, and being a kind of resolving me into my own beginnings; for there was I Born.

But I have a little Ambitious vanity stirring in me, to Print a thing of my Composition there: which would else in London run through too much Noise before hand, by Reason of the Licences that must be gotten, and an Eternal trick in those City-Stationers, to rumour what they have under Press.

From Oxford I was wrapt by my Nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon, to Redgrave, and by himself, and by my sweet Niece detained ever since: (so I say,) for believe me, there is in their Conversations, and in the freedom of their Entertainment, a kind of delightful violence.

In our way hither we blanched Pauls Perry, though within three Miles of it, which we are not tender to confess, (being indeed our Manifest excuse;) for thereby it appears, the pains of the way did not keep

us thence.

In truth, we thought it (coming immediately from an infected place) an hazardous incivility to put our felves upon them; for if any Sinister accident had fallen out about the same time (for Coincidents are not always Causes) we should have rued it for

ever.

Here, when I had been almost a Fortnight in the midst of much Contentment, I received knowledge of Sir Albertus Morton's departure out of this World, who was dearer unto me than mine own being in it. What a wound it is to my Heart, you will easily believe: But his undisputable Will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh now one, and then another, till the expected day wherein it shall please him to Dissolve the whole, and to wrap up even the Heaven it self as a Scroul of Parchment.

This is the last Philosophy that we must study upon the Earth; let us now, that yet remain, while our Glasses shall run by the droping away of Friends, re-inforce our Love to one another; which of all Vertues, both Spiritual and Moral, hath the highest privilege, because Death it felf shall

not

not end it. And good Nic. exercise that love towardsme, in letting me know, &c.

Your ever poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

### To the KING, 1627.

May it please Your Majesty,

He Gracious Afpect which I have ever obferved in Your Majesty towards me, doth bind me (though there were no other reafon) next under God, to approve all my Actions to Your Judgement; Let me therefore most humbly make known unto Your Majesty, that it hath pleased the Fountain of all good thoughts to dispose my mind, by his fecret Providence, to enter into the facred Orders of his Church: having confirmed in me (for which his high Name be ever bleffed) the Reverence and Love of his Truth, by a large Experience of the abuses thereof, in the very feat and fink of all corruption, Rome it felf : to which my wandring curiofity carried me no lefs than for times in my younger years; where I fixed my Studies most upon the Historical Part, in the politick management of Religion, which I found plainly converted from a Rule of Conscience, to an Instrument of State; and from the Mistress of Z 4

all Sciences, into a very hand-maid of Ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my observation that way. For though the Truth perhaps may more compendiously appear in ordine dostrine; yet never more fully, than when we fearch the Original veins thereof, the increase, the deprayations, and decayes,

in ordine temporum.

This is the Point wherein I have travelled most, and wherein I will fpend the remainder of my days; hoping that the All-fufficient God, will in the strength of his mercy enable my weakness, either by my Voice or Pen, to celebrate his Glory. Now though I was thus far confident in my felf, (with all humility be it fpoken) that neither my Life, nor my poorerudition, would yield much Scandal to others, and likewise might well have presumed, that this refolution could no ways offend Your Majetties Religious Heart; but might rather be secure in Your Favour and Encouragement; yet having been imployed fo many years abroad in Civil use, I thought it undutiful to change my calling, without the foreknowledge and approbation of my Dear Soveraign. This is the Humble Message of these few lines unto Your Majesty.

The Almighty, who hath indued Your Majeffy with excellent Vertues, and fo early taught You the rare Confort between Greatness and Goodness, long protect Your Royal Person and Estates under

his fingular Love.

Your Majesties most faithful

and devoted Vaffal,

H. Wotton.

### To my Dear Dynely.

S. P. ws nossa.

Pauca meo Gallo, sed quæ legat ipsa Licoris.

T were an injury to use a Cipher by a Friend so warmly and so justly commended hither by you: nay almost, to write a Letter; but that I am tender to trouble him and laid him with our privacies.

Of Himfelf first let me say thus much, that I think surely he is the fittest stranger that could have been chosen to overcome, among our Academicks, the envy of a stranger. For he hath a sair carriage, and very discreet temper, and by the prompt use of our Language is almost naturalized already: And I cast no doubt of the inward surniture, per quel gusto saperito, that we have taken in a short conversation with him: wherein, you that procured us the benefit of his Company, must answer for the poorness of his Entertainment.

Now, for my felf, I have not yet entred into the first Order of the Church, by a strange accident: upon which their lies likewise some Civil note. The Bishop of Lincolne (fometimes Lord Keeper) is the Prelate from whom I resolved to take it: not for any personal respect; but because he is our Diocesan, and Visiter at this College, and to whom I acknowledge a kind of homage for the place I hold, which fell into his disposing formally by Lapse. This Bishop (you must know) on this very day seven night came to London about

ten of the Clock in the Morning, to perform an Election of the Scholars at Westminster (whereof he is Dean) usual at this time of the year, as with us. Inthe Evening of that day, Sir John Cooke, Secretary, visits him, with Command from His Majesty to be prefently gone. What Questions there upon passed between them upon such a surprise, I omit. Basta. He went away the next Morning at Eight of the Clock; and fo I am put upon another means, which before my next unto you, will be done: For I abound in choice, but I am a little curious; and I will tell you hereafter the Reasons of my curiosity. You will note (as I touched before) upon this; That the Dukes power is great even in his absence, and that he hath in Court very vigilant Instruments both Spiritual and Temporal. I want time to explain my felf; but it shall follow.

Of the present Voyage let me venture to say a little. I am afraid we shall unite all France, if it be thither; yet the provisions are sair, and the Duke resolved, and he is departed, with the Souldier, and from the Coast, as beloved a man, and with as many acclamations there, as imprecations within the Land: Such a stoating thing is the Vul-

gar. Of this more at leafure.

From the College, this 10th. of July, 1627.

Tuus

H. Wotton.

#### To the KING.

My Most Dear and Dread Soveraign,

S I gave Your Majesty fereknowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had Your Gracious Approvement therein, fo I hold it a fecond duty to Your Majefty, and fatisfaction to my felf, to inform you likewise by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what Motives; that in may appear unto your Majesty (as I hope it will) an Act of Conscience, and of Reason; and not of greediness and ambition. Your Majesty will be therefore pleafed to know, that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and fo far am I from aiming at any high flight, out of my former Sphere, that there I intend to reft. Perhaps I want not some perfivaders, that measuring me by their affections, or by Your Majesties goodness, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think, that yet before I die, I might become a great Prelate. And I need no perfivation to tell me, that if I would undertake the Paftoral Function, I could peradventure by cafualty, out of the Patronages belonging to Your Royal College, without further troubling of Your Majesty, cast some good Benefice upon my felf, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more than my Provoltship. But as they were strucken with horrour, who beheld the Majeffy of the Lord descending upon the Mount Sinai: fo, God knows, the nearer I

approach to contemplate his greatness, the more I tremble to assume any Cure of Souls even in the lowest degree, that were bought at so high a price: Premant torcular qui vindemiarunt : Let them pressthe Grapes, and fill the Veffels, and tafte the Wine, that have gathered the Vintage. But shall I sit and do nothing in the Porch of Gods House, whereinto I am entred? God himfelf forbid, who was the Supream Mover. What Service then do I propound to the Church? Or what contentment to mine own mind? First, for the point of Conscience, I can now hold my place Canonically, which I held before but difpensatively, and withal I can exercife an Archidiaconal Authority annexed thereunto, though of small extent, and no benefit, yet fometimes of pious and necessary use. I comfort my felf also with this Christian hope. That Gentlemen and Knights Sons, who are trained up with usin a Seminary of Church-men, (which was the will of the Holy Founder) will by my example, (without vanity be it spoken) not be ashamed, after the fight of Courtly Weeds, to put on a Surplice. Lafty, I confider, that this refolution which I have taken, is not unfuitable even to my civil Imployments abroad, of which for the molt part Religion was the Subject; nor to my observations, which have been spent that way in discovery of the Roman Arts and Practices, whereof I hope to yield the World some account, though rather by my Pen, than by my Voice. For though I must Humbly confess, that both my Conceptions and Expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deli-beration than my Memory: or if Your Majetty will give me leave to paint my felf in higher Terms, I think, I shall be bolder against the Judgements, than

than against the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own Character; so as my private Study must be my Theater rather than a Pulpit; and my Books my Auditors, as they are all my Treasure. Howsoever, if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life, to compose some Hymns unto his endless glory, who hath called me, (for which his Name be ever blessed) though late, to his Service, yet carly to the knowledge of his truth, and sense of his mercy. To which ever commending Your Majesty, and Your Royal Actions, with most hearty and humble prayers, I rest,

Your Majesties

most devoted

poor Servant.

## To the KING, 1627.

May it please Lour most Gracious Majesty,

Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagb, been directed hither with a most humble Petition unto Your Majesty, that You hill be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now

(now Resident upon a small Benefice in Suffolk) Governour of Your College at Dublin, for the good of that Society; And my felf being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, (who was long my Chaplain at Venice in the time of my first Imployment) I am bound in all Conscience and Truth, (as far as Your Maiefly will Vouchfafe to accept my poor Judgement) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge could have been propounded unto Your Majesty in Your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of Your Church, and zeal to advance the Caufe of God. wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians. For it may please Your Majesty to know, that this is the Man whom Padre Paulo took, I may fay, into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholaffical and Politive, than from any that he had ever practifed in his days; of which all the passages were well known unto the King Your Father of most bleffed Memory. And to, with Your Majesties good Favour, I will end this needless Office: For the general fame both of his Learning, and Life, and Christian Temper, and those Religious Labours which Himfelf hath dedicated unto Your Majesty do better describe him.

Your Majesties
most humble,
and faithful Vassal,
H. Wotton

#### To the DUKE.

My most Noble Lord,

7 Hen like that impotent Man in the Gospel. I had lain long by the Pools fide, while many were healed, and none would throw me in; it pleased your Lordship first of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into some hope of fubfifting hereafter. Therefore I must humbly and justly acknowledge all my ability, and reputation from your Favour. You have given me incouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculoufness, who had served so long without any mark of Favour. By which Arguments, being already and ever bound to be yours, till either Life or Honesty shall leave me, I am the bolder to befeech your Lordship to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majesty to some setling of those things that depend between Sir Julius Casar and me, in that reasonable form which I humbly prefent unto your Lordship by this my Nephew, likewife your obliged Servant, being my felf, by a late indisposition, confined to my Chamber, but in all Estates such as I am,

Your Lordship's,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

Send you by this Bearer (to keep you in mirth) a piping Shepherd, done by Cavalier Baffaw, and so well as may merit some place in your Chamber, which I hear is the Center of good Musick; to which, out of my pieces at home, I have commanded James to add a Messara, playing upon a Timbrel, done by Allessandro Padovano, a rising Tuian as we esteemed him.

Good Sir, let us know fome true passages of the plight of the Court. I have laid about for some constant Intelligence from Foreign parts, being strangely relapsed into that humour in my old age. Shall I tell you why? In good faith, for no other use that I mean to make of news, but only that when God shall call me to a bettter, I may know in

what flate I leave this World.

Your affectionate Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

#### To M. Nicholas Arnauld.

SIR,

His young Gentleman, my very near Kinfman, having gotten enough of Venetian Italian to feek better; and being for that end directed by me to Siena, I will take the boldness to commend him to your disposing there, assuring my

my felf, that you have gained muchFriendship and power wheresoever you are, by that Impression which you have lest in us here. And so, with those thanks which were long since due, for your kind Remembrance of me by a Letter from Florence, I commit you to Gods dear Blessings and Love, and I ever rest,

Tour very Affectionate

From Venice.

at Is

ng

y

poor Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

## To the Lord Treasurer Weston.

My most bonoured good Lord,

Most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a strange New-years-Gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest Materials. In short, it is only an Image of your Self, drawn by Memory from such Discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship, among the most intelligent and unmalignant Men; which to pourtract before you I thought no service Office, but ingenuous and real: and I could wish that it had come at the Day, that so your Lordship might have begun the New Year, somewhat like Plato's Desinition of Felicity, with the Contemplation of your own Idea.

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They

They fay, That in your Foreign Employments under King James, your Lordship won the Opinion of a very able and fearching Judgement, having been the first discoverer of the Intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in Brewing, and masked with much Art. And that Sir Edward Conway got the ftart of you both in Title and Employment at home, because the late Duke of Bucking bam wanted then for his own Ends a Martial Secretary. They fay, That under our prefent Sovereign, you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of undubitable integrity and provident moderation; which Attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your Actions since, that though great Exaultions cannot be cured with fudden Remedies, no more in a Kingdom then in a Natural Body, yet your Lordship hath well allayd those bluftering clamors wherewith at your beginnings your House was in a manner dayly besieged. They note, that there have been many Changes, but that none hath brought to the Place a Judgement fo cultivated and Illuminated with various Erudition as your Lordship, fince the Lord Burghly under Queen Elizabeth, whom they make your Parallel in the Ornament of Knowledge.

They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combination of Vertues and Abilities, rarely sociable. In the Character of your Aspect, a mixture of Authority and Modesty. In the Faculties of your Mind, quick Apprehension and Solidity together. In the style of your Port and Train, as much Dignity, and as great Dependency as was ever in any of your Place, and with little noise or outward sume. That your Table is very abundant, free and noble, with-

out Luxury. That you are by Nature no Flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court. That you love Magnificence and Frugality both together. That you entertain your Guests and Visiters with Noble Courtesie, but void of Complement. Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your Person and Place, and

yet are an Enemy to frothy Formalities.

Now, in the Discharge of your Function, they speak of two things that have done you much Hongur: namely, That you have had always a special care to the supply of the Navy: And likewise a more worthy and tender Respect towards the King's only Sister, for her continual support from hence, than she hath found before. They observe your greatness as sirmly established as ever was any in the Love (and which is more) in the Estimation of a King, who hath so signalized his own Constancy: Besides your Addition of Strength (or at least of Lustre) by the Noblest Alliances of the Land.

Among these Notes, it is no wonder if some obferve, That between a good Willingnessin your Affections to satisfie all, and an impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the Persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little Impatience, which must needs fall upon your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a Rock of *Diamonds*, especially having been before so Conversant with Liberal Studies, and with the Freedom of your own Mind.

Now after this short Collection touching your most Honoured Person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what Men say of the Writer. They say, I want not your gracious good Will towards me according to the Degree of my poor Talent and Travels, but that I am wanting to my

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felf: And in good faith (my Lord) in faying fo, they fay truly; for I am condemned, I know not how, by Nature, to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own Business, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordships proper Work, and not only your Noble, but even your Charitable goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of that Text; Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum. And so I remain with an humble and willing Heart, &c.

### To the Queen of Bohemia.

July, 1636.

Most resplendent Queen, even in the Darkness of Fortune.

That was wont to be my Style unto Your Majefty, which you fee I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forborn to trouble You with any of my poor Lines; yet the Memory of Your fweet and Royal Vertues, is the laft thing that will die in me. In these Months of my filence, I have been busic (if any work of my Brains may be termed a Business) about certain Compositions of mine own, partly imposed, and partly voluntary: whereof some would fain be strugling into the Light; but I do check their forwardness, because I am afraid they will be born before their time: In the mean while, I have gotten a Subject worthy to exercise my Pen unto Your Majesty

Majesty, which is the choice of the New Lord Treasurer; upon which Mar. 6. 1635. place Your Majesty hath always

fome dependance in your Domestick Affairs. I believe your Majesty hath never personally seen him, therefore I will take the boldness to paint him before You; though I must speak, as yet, more out of the univerfal Opinion, than from my own Experience; for your Majesty knows my Nature, I am always one of the last Intruders. Now the best and the shortest draught that I can make of him, will be this; There is in him no Tumour, no fowreness, no Distraction of Thoughts, but a quiet Mind, a patient Care, free Access, Mild and Moderate Anfwers.

To this I must add a solid Judgment, a sober Plainness, and a most indubitable Character of Fidelity in his very Face: fo as there needs not much Study to think him both a good Man, and a wife Man. And accordingly is his Family composed; more Order than Noise, and his nearest Instruments carefully chosen, for he wanted no Offers: But above all, there is a bleffed note upon him, that his Majelty hath committed his Moneys where he may truft his Conscience. Upon the whole matter, it is no Marvel that the Charge lay a full year under Commission:

For the King himfelf ( as we hear ) did openly profess, that he had spent the most of that time, not in deliberateing whom he might choose, but in wooing of him whom he had chosen, to undertake it: For 'tis a hard matter indeed (if so good a King had not been the Orator) to draw a man out of the fettled repose of a learned Life, into such an Ocean of publick Solicitude, able to fwallow an ordinary

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Spirit,

Spirit. But God, who hath raifed him to it, hath

made him fit for it.

This is all that I was in Travel to Advertife Your Majesty upon the present Occasion; my next will be touching the two sweet Princes, Your Sons whose Fame I have only hitherto enjoyed in the common Voice; having by some Weakness in my Legs, and other Symptoms of Age, and by mine own retired Studies, been confined to privacy: But I hope to make known unto Them, how much I Reverence my Royal Mistress, their Mother, and the Images of her Goodness, at the solemn Meeting the next Month in Oxford: For an Academy will be the best Court for my Humor. And so I humbly rest,

Your Majesty's ever faithful, ever devoted poor Servant,

H. W.

## To the Lord Treasurer Juxon.

May it please your good Lordship,

Was in hope long fince to have waited on your Lordship with an account, I dare not say of any Fruit, yet at least of some use of my private time: But through certain fastidious Fumes from my Spleen (though of late I thank God well allay.

allayed) I have been kept in fuch Jealousie of mine own Conceptions, that fome things under my Pen have been born very flowly. In the mean while, remembring an Old Pamphlet of mine, of the Elements of Architecture, which I cannot in any Modesty suppose that your Lordship had ever seen, though it hath found fome Vulgar Favour among those whom they call gentle Readers, I have gotten fuch a Copy as did remain to prefent unto your Lordship: And because my Fortunes were never able to erect any thing answerable to my Speculations in that Art, I have newly made, at least an effay of my Invention, at least in the Structure of a little poor Standish, of so Contemptible Value, as I dare offer it to your Lordship without Offence of your Integrity. If I could have built fome Rural Retreat worthy of your Reception, according to the fix Precepts of my Master Vitruvins, I would have invited and entertained your Lordship therein, how homely foever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this World; and I would then have gloried to have under my Roof as worthy a Countellor and Treasurer as ever ferved the best of Kings: But as I am, I can say no more for your Lordships gracious Respects and Goodness towards me, than that I live in a Tormenting defire, some way to celebrate the Honour of your Name, and to be known

Your most bumble, professed,

and obliged Servant,

H. WOTTON.

# To the KING, 1637.

May it please my most Gracious Soveraign,

If I were not more afraid to break the Laws of that humble Modesty, which becometh the meanness of my desert, than I am to exceed the bounds of Your Majesties Royal Goodness: I should be a poor Suppliant unto Your Majesty to confer upon me the Mastership of the Savoy, in case Dr. Belcanquel (my good Friend) shall (as the voice goeth) be removed to the Deanry of Durham; wherein the Remove and the Substitution are but one stroke

of your Benignity.

God knows, and the value of the thing it felf may fpeak as much, that I do not aim therein at any utility: Only, it may be some ease of Expence, and Commodity of Lodging, when I shall come (as I am afraid shortly) • to overfee certain poor things of mine own at Press; wherewith yet I hope Your Majesty, whose Honour only I Study will not be displeased. I have further considered with my felf, that the faid place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by your Majesties Interceffion with Your ever bleffed Father, as it may please you to remember, though you forget nothing fo eafily as your own Bounties; which place here never before fublishing in the Memory of Man, without some Addition, I have now near fourteen years fustained in that Integrity as I found it, and with as good Scholars fent annually to Your Royal College at Cambridge, of my particular

lar Choice, as have gone thither fince the Foundation; whereof I could flew your Majesty a published Testimony out of that University, in Dr. Winterton's Dedication of Dionysius de situ orbis, unto me; if it were not a miserable thing for me to make up so slight a merit even with a Vanity. Besides this, I most humbly consels, that though my Fortunes are poor, and my Studies private, yet I cannot deny certain Sparkles of Honest Ambition, remaining in me, whereby I desire the World should know, that my most Vertuous, and most Dear and Royal Master hath not utterly forgotten me. And so I most humbly rest,

Your Majesties most humble, faithful, hearty Subject and Servant,

H. W.

# To the ArchBishop.

May it please your Grace,

Mboldened by your Favor, I humbly prefent herewith to your Grace, and through your only hands (which in our lower Sphere, is via lattea) my Letter to his Majesty and the Copy thereof. If it shall pass the sile of your your Judgment, my poor Lines will have Honour enough; but if they take Effect by the Virtue of your Meditation, I shall be forry that I cannot be more,

Your Grace's than I am.

and will ever be,

## To Mr. MILTON.

SIR.

T was a fpecial Favour, when you lately beffowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer than to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther flay in these parts, which I understood afterward by Mr. H. I would have been bold, in our Vulgar Phrase, to mend my draught, (for you left me with an extream Thirft,) and to have begged your Conversation again joyntly with your faid Learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good Authors of the Ancient time: Among which I obferved you to have been familiar.

Since your going, you have charged me with new Obligations, both for a very kind Letter from you, dated the Sixth of this Month, and for a dainty piece of Entertainment that came therewith.

Where-

Wherein I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not Ravish me with a certain Dorique Delicacy in your Songs and Odes; whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our Language, Insa Mollities. But I must not omit to tell you, that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modeltly soever) the true Artiscer. For the Work it self I had viewed some good while before with singular Delight, having received it from our common Friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late R's Poems Printed at Oxford; whereunto is added (as I now suppose) that the Accessary might help out the Principal, according to the Art of Stationers, and to leave the Reader Con la bocea dolce.

Now Sir, concerning your Travels, wherein I may Challenge a little more Privilege of Discourse with you. I suppose you will not blanch Paris in your way; therefore I have been bold to Trouble you with a few Lines to Mr. M. B. whom you shall easily find attending the Young Lord S. as his Governor, and you may surely receive from him good Directions for the shaping of your farther Journey into Italy, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own Recess from

Venice.

Ishould think that your best Line will be thorough the whole length of France to Marseilles, and thence by Sea to Genoa, whence the Passage into Tuscany is as Diurnal as a Gravesend Barge. I hasten, as you do to Florence, or Sienna, the rather to, tell you a short Story from the Interest you have given me in your Safety.

At Sienna I was tabled in the House of one Alberto Scipioni, an Old Roman Courtier in dangerous times,

times, having been Steward to the Duca di Pagliano, who with all his Family were ftrangled, fave this only Man that escaped by fore fight of the Tempest; with him I had often much chat of those Affairs; into which he took Pleasure to look back from his Native Harbour, and at my departure toward Rome (which had been the Center of his Experience) I had won Confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry my felf fecurely there, without Offence of others, or of mine own Conscience. Signor Arrigo mio (fays he) I Pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto: That is, Your thoughts close, and your Countenance loofe. will go fafely over the whole World. Of which Delphian Oracle (for fo I have found it) your judgment doth need no Commentary; and therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, Gods dear love, remaining

Your Friend as much at Command, as any of longer date,

H. Wotton.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I have exprelly fent this my Foot-Boy to prevent your Departure, without fome acknowledgment from me of the receit of your obliging Letter, having my felf through fome Business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary Conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad, and diligent to entertain you with Home Novelties; even for some Fomentation of our Friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.

Right Honorable,

After Nicholas Pey (through whose hands all my bufineffes did pass both in my former employments here and now) hath betray'd your Honor unto me in some things that you would defire out of this Country, which if he had not done, he had betray'd me: For I have long wished nothing more than some occasion to ferve you; and though this be a kind of intrusion. to infert my felf in this manner into your defires : yet I hope it will please you to excuse it, because I do it not only with willingness, but in truth with pleasure: for it falleth out, that I have a little skill, or at least an interest of Affection in the things that you wish from hence, and therefore even mine own Nature doth lead me to ferve you, besides my duty. I have begun with a very poor Prefent of Strings for your Musick, whereof I will provide hereafter better flore, and if it be possible, of better quality: by the first Ship your Honor shall receive fome Lutes of Sconvels and Mango, and withal a Cheft of Glaffe of mine own chufing at Murano, wherein I do somewhat pretend; and those Artificers are well acquainted with me. Thus much in private: For the Publick, I have made by this Bearer a Dispatch unto the whole Body of His Majesties most Honorable Councel, wherein your worthy Person is comprehended; and therefore, I hope, that writing twice to your Honor now at once, it may ferve (by your favour) for fonce Redemption of my former filence. The Subject of my Difpatch is as high as ever befel any Foreign Minister; wherein, though mine own Confeience

(I thank God) doth fet me at rest, yet I shall be glad of your Honorable Approbation, if it will please you to afford it me: And so I humbly commit your Honor to Gods blessed Love, remaining,

At your Commandment.

Much Honoured Sir,

CInce I had the Favour and the Delight of any Letters from you, you have had the Trouble of two or three from me, besides the present, which I hope will find you, according to my continual Wishes, in perfect Health, though you live in a Theater of Tragical Actions this year. I am here newly delivered of one of the most fastidious pieces of my life, as I account, for my part, the Week of our Annual Election of Scholars, both into this Seminary, and out of it for Kings College in Cambridge; whereunto hath been a Marvellous Concourfe, and much Distraction in our Votes through Letters from Court. Pardon me, Sir, a Question by the way, Have you no Child of your own, or at least of some of your Friends, whom you could wish trained in this Course? I would fain beg fome Employment from you, which makes me offer you this, or any other of those poor Services which lie within my Circumference, as this Bearer hath particular Charge from me. This is that Nicholas Oudart, for whom you did a great Favour in procuring the Cardinal Infanta's Letters to Mechelen in his behalf: which took fo good Effect, as he is now personally flown over to confummate that Bufiness, having Information from his Cor-

respondents there, that it is ripened for him. He hath ferved me from a little Page, and of late years hath managed the chief part of my Domestick Affairs; fo as if it were not for his own urgent Occasion, I could hardly mifs him that short time within which I expect his return. You will find him, I hope, worthy of your Love, I am fure of your Truft. His Profession is Physick, towards which he is very well grounded in the learned Languages: But his Scope now his Bufiness, not Knowledge. If there shall by chance remain any thing to be added unto your former Honorable Courtelle, for the Expedition of his Cause and Return, you have given us both good Cause to be Confident both in your Power and Friendship: And so, Sir, leaving him in your loving Arms, I rest for ever,

Your obliged and faithful

Friend to Serve you,

H. WOTTON

#### To the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

July 30 1637.

May it please your Grace,

E very humbly acknowledge, that your Grace hath made us Confident in your Favour, both by your former Letters, (which are the true Images of your Mind) and by that report which Mr. Weaver, and Mr. Harrifon, brought us from your most Reverenced Person:

yet, till after the Term, when we might suppose your Grace somewhat freer than before (though ever environed with more Honor then Ease) we were tender to trouble you with any profecution, on our parts, of your good Intents towards this Collegiate Body, about the yet unperfected. though well imprimed Business of New-Winsor. But now, after due Remembrance of our humble Devotions, I am bold to fignifie unto your Grace in mine own, and in the name of the rest, that having (according to the fair Liberty which you were pleased to yield us) consulted with our Councel at Law, about some convenient form for the fetling of that which his Majesty hath already granted by your Grace's Intercellion, we find the King can no way be bound but by his own goodness, neither can we wish his Majesty in better or in safer Bonds: therefore we hope to propound an Expedient, which to my understanding, will (as Astronomers use to fay) fave all appearances, Namely, oc.

Mafter Cleavers Election shall be the more Honoured, by being a single example; in whose Person we are forry for nothing, but that he needs not thank us for his choice. And so doubting as little of your Grace's Favour, as we do of your Power, in the consummating of our Humble, and as we hope they will appear, of our moderate desires,

I ever with most hearty zeal remain

From the College this 30. of July, 1637.

At all your Grace's Commmands,

H. WOTTON.

Right Honourable and our very good Lord, the Lord Keeper,

T is so open and so general for any that flie unto your Lorpships Tribunal, to receive there a fair and equitable Measure, as it hath (we know not how) wrought in us a kind of unnatural effect: For, thereby we have been made the slower to render your Lordship our most humble thanks in our own proper Case, because we knew not how to single it from the common Benesit which all find in your goodness: But we can now forbear no longer to joyn among our selves, and with the universal

voice, in a bleffing upon your Name.

And as we bring a true and humble acknowledgment in our particular, that this College is bound to celebrate your Honor for that Charitable Injunction wherewith you have fustained a great and important Portion of the livelihood of so many young Plants of good Literature, till a further Discussion of your Right: so likewise we most humbly beseech your good Lordship in the Sincerity of our own defires of quietness, and in the confidence of our cause, that you will be pleased to entertain with favor a Petition which our Councel will present unto your Lordship, for some Day of hearing that shall best fort with your great Affairs. And so with all our joynt and hearty Prayers, both of Young and Old, for your long Preservation, We rest,

Your most bumble and devoted Servants.

My most Honored Lady,

Our young Kinsman shall be welcome hither at your pleasure, and there shall want no respects on my part to make the place both fruit-

ful and chearful unto him.

Touching the other part of your last; wherein I am so much obliged by your considence, which in truth, is the greatest of Obligations, let me affure your Ladyship, by all the protestations of a Christian man, that I never heard before the least whispering of that whereof you write concerning my Niece: Neither, in good faith, did I know so much as that there was a Lord T. Your Ladyship sees in what darkness, or with what incuriosity I live.

I shall, ere it be long, be my felf in Kent among my Friends; but I will write more speedily, accord-

ing to your command.

In the mean while (if I may be pardoned for much boldness) I could wish your Ladyship would take some hold of one well known in Court on both sides, namely Master Niebolas Pey: He is a right honest and discreet Man in himself, and of great trust with my Lady T. the Grand-mother, under whom my Niece was bred, and likewise with her Father and Mother; and I am not tender that your Ladyship should tell him, you have understood so much from me, if it please you to send for him. And so I most humbly rest

Your Ladyship's with all Devotion to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

# To Sir Richard Baker Knight.

SIR,

Conceive that you have been pleafed, out of our Ancient Friendship, (which was first, and is ever best elemented in an Academy) and not out of any valuation of my poor Judgement, to communicate with me your Divine Meditations on the Lords Prayer, in fome feveral fheets, which have given me a true tafte of the whole; wherein I must needs observe, and much admire the very Character of your Style, which feemeth unto me to have not a little of the African Idea of Saint Augustine's Age, full of fweet Raptures, and of refearching Conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not how) with a certain equal facility: So as I fee your Worldly Troubles have been but Pressing-Irons to your Heavenly cogitations.

Good Sir, let not any modefly of your Nature, let not any obscurity of your Fortune smother such an excellent employment of your Erudation and Zeal: for it is a work of Light, and not of Darkness. And thus wishing you long health, that can

afe it fo well, I remain

0

Your poor Friend

to love and serve you,

H. WOTTON.

B 6 2

To

# To His Sacred Majesty.

Do humbly refume the ancient manner, which was adire Casfarem per Libellum: with Confidence in the Cause, and in Your Majesties Gracious Equity, though not in mine own Merit.

During my late Imployment, Sir E.P. then Mafter of the Rolls died. By his death Sir Julius Cafar claimed not only the Succession of that place, but the Gift of all the Clerkships of the Chancery, that

should fall void in his own time.

Of these Clerkships Your Majesty had formerly granted two Reversions: The one to the late Lord Bruce; for which Mr. Bond, Secretary to my Lord Chancellor, had contracted with him. The Second to me. The faid Bond got his Grant through the Favor of his Master to be confirmed by Sir Julius Casar before his entrance into the Rolls: but through my Absence in Your Majesties Service, and want of preffing it in the due Season, my Grant remained unconfirmed, though Your Majesty was pleased to write Your Gracious Letter in my behalf. Which maketh me much bewail mine own Case, that my Deserts were so poor, as Your Royal Meditation was of less value for me, than my Lord Chancellors for his Servant. The Premiffes confidered, my humble Sute unto your Majesty is this: That Sir Julius Cafar may be drawn by Your Supream Authority, to confirm unto me my Reversion of the Second Clerkship, whereof I have a Patent under your great Seal. Wherein I have just

just considence in Your Majesties Grace, since Your very Laws do restore them that have been any ways prejudiced in Servicio Regis.

Your Majesties

long devoted

poor Servant,

H. WOTTON.

1621.

SIR.

Esides the Address of my publick Duties unto your hands, I have long owed you these private lines, full of thanks from my heart for your favour and affection in all my occasions at home, and particularly in the Point of my Privy-Seal, about my German Accounts: wherein (as I am abundantly informed, both by my Nephew, and by Mr. Nicholas Pey, whom I repute my best Oracles in the Information of mine own Obligations) it pleased you to stand by me, not only Da vero Amico, but indeed, Da vero Cavagliere: From which, though the benefit which did remain in my purfe, after the casting up of what was lost, was (as God knows) fo little, that I may justly build fome hope of your further Charity in the Authorifing of fuch Demands as I now fend: yet on the other fide, I must confess, that without your for-Bb 2

mer fo friendly, and fo noble compassion, I had received a most irrecoverable ruine and shame, beyond all example, and my case would have been very ftrange; for I should have been undone by the Kings goodness, upon affurance whereof (though almost forgotten) I had increased my Tram Now Sir, this acknowledgement of your fingular Love, I was never more fit to pay you than at the prefent, being intenerated in all my inward feelings and affections by new fickness, which with loss of much Blood, even no less than twenty ounces within these fourteen days, hath brought me low. In which time (if God had called me from the Travels of this Earth) I had left you, out of my narrow fortune, fome poor remembrance of my thankfulness: which I have now (finding my felf by Gods pleasure in a good way of recovery) transmitted to my abovefaid Friend Mr. Pey. Before I end, I must not forget to eafe your Honor of fuch thanks as in your Letters you have been pleafed to beftow on me, in refpect of your Kinfman Mr. B. because his being with me, I do very rightly reckon among my bands to your felf: for in good faith, his integrity and discretion doth fustain my House; besides his fellowship in certain Studies, wherein we aim at no finall things, even perchance at a new Systeme of the World: at least, fince we cannot in the Practical and Moral. I would we could mend it in the Speculative Part. But left thefe private Contemplations (on which I am fallen) transport me too far, I will conclude as I began, with humble thanks for all your Favours; and with commending your Honored Person to the Author of all Bleffing; remaining ever, erc.

Most Dear Lord,

HILE I had your Lordship (as I am always bound ) in my Meditation, and fomewhat under my Pen, (wherewith I hope in due time to express how much I Honor your Noble Vertues ) I am (as if I had not been overladen before) furprized with a new Favor ( for that is the true Title of your Commands ) touching a fine Boy of this College, whom I perceive by your Letters of the Thirtieth of the last Month to pertain to your Care. Quid multa? It shall be done: Only in one thing I must crave Pardon, to pass a little gentle Exposulation with your Lordship. You are pleased in your Letter to except my Inconveniencies, as if in the Nobleness of your Nature (notwithstanding your defire) you would yet allow me here a liberty of mine own Judgment, or Affection. No, my Good Lord, That Privilege comes too late, even for your felf to give me, when I once understand your mind. For let me affure your Lordship, that I have fuch a Confcience, and real feeling of my deep Obligations towards your Noble Person, as no value nor respect under Heaven can purchase my voice from him, on whom you have bestowed it. It is true, that the King himself, and no longer than three or four days before the date of your Letters ( fo nimble are the times ) did write for another; but we shall satisfie his Majesty with a pre-election, and yours shall have my first Nomination; which, howfoever, will fall timely enough for him within the year. For there belongs (after they are chosen) a little foaking, as well as a Bb 4

baking before, into our Boys. And so not to insist any longer upon such a poor obedience, I humbly lay my self, and whatsoever is, or shall be within my power, at your Lordships feet, remaining,

> Your Lordship's in the truest, and heartiest Devotions.

Worthy Sir,

LL bealth to your felf, and to yours both at bome and abroad. Sorry I was not to be at Eton when Mr. B. your Nephew, and my Friend came thither to visit me, being then in procinct of his Travels: But I had some good while before, at another kind visitation, together with your Sons and Mr. S. giving him a Catholick Rule which was given me long since by an old Roman Courtier, with whom I tabled in Siena, and whose Counsels I begged for the Government of my self at my departure from bim towards the forefaid Court, where be had been fo well verfed. Sinor Arrigo ( fays be) There is one short remembrance will carry you safe through the whole World. I was glad to bear such a preservative contracted into so little room, and so befought him to bonor me with it. Nothing but this (faith he) Gli Pensiere stretti, & il viso sciolto: That is, as Iuse to translate it, Your Thoughts close, and your Countenance loofe. This was that Moral Antidote which I imparted to Mr. B. and his Fellow Travellers, when they were last with me, having a particular Interest in their well-doings, both as they are yours, and as they have had some training under my poor Regiment: To which tyes of Friendship you have added a third, that they are now of the College of Travellers, wherein if the

the Fruit of the time I have spent, were answerable to the

length, I might run for a Deacon at least.

If I had not been absent when Mr. B. came last, I would have said much more in private between us; which shall be supplied by Letter, if I may receive a safe form of address from you. I continue mainly in the same opinion which I touched unto them, That after their impriming in France, I could wish them to mount the Pirenies into Spain. In that Court (as I hear) you have an assured Friend; And there they may consolidate the French wasty with a certain Sosiego (as they call it) till they shall afterwards pass from Barcelona over to Italy, where lies the true mean between the other two humours. You see (Sir) by this discourse, that I am in mine own Country at leisure; I pray pardon it, what soever it he, because it proceedeth from hearty good will: And so I rest.

#### At your Commands,

H. W.

Sir, My Servant the Bearer bath somewhat to say unto you about a piece of Painting, which I would fain send to your House in the Countrey, covered till it come thither, because it is soberly naked, and ready to be set up, being in a gilded Frame already.

#### 21633.

Right Honorable,

I Received fuch a Letter from you touching my poor Pamphlet of Architecture, which I yet preferve among my preciousest Papers, as I have made it a Resolution to put nothing forth under my Name, without sending one of the first copies unto your indulgent hands.

There is born a fmall welcome to the King from Scotland (whom I have not yet feen fince his Return) I know not how, out of a little indignation. They have fent us over from Leiden, from France, from Polonia, &c. a tempest of Panegyricks, and Landatives of their Princes; whereupon I debated with my felf; What? Have we not as good a Theme and Theater as they? Or do we want Sence, or Zeal to express our Happiness? This stirred my ve-Bowels, and within a while my Pen, fuch as it is, I confess the Subject is so high, as I fear may condemn my Obscurity to have undertaken it; but withal fo true, as I hope will not mif become mine ingenuity. Howfoever, I submit it to your Judgement: and if in Charity you shall be pleased to like any thing in it, I humbly beseech you that you would be pleafed to take fome occasion of speaking favourably of it to the King himfelf; for though I aim at nothing by it, fave the very doing of it, yet I should be glad to have it impressed by better judgements than my own; And fo I must humbly rest,

At, &C

# To Dr. CASTLE.

Worthy Sir,

Ill the receipt of your last, and the like from others of both Universities; and one from Bruxels, Ejusdem Argument; I thought,

thought, in good faith, that as I have lived (I thank God) with little Ambition; fo I could have died with as much filence as any man in England. But now I fee that the most unvaluable things may serve to make a noise.

And I have now no more to fay, but that while the forefaid report shall be false; the under-writer is

Truly Yours,

H. Wotton.

My dear Nic.

Ore than a voluntary motion doth now carry me towards Suffolk, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent Physician at B. whom I brought my self from Venice, where (as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmity of the Spleen, to which the very Seat is generally inclined, and therefore their Physicians (who commonly study the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understand the best Remedies.

I hope to be back by-

Your beartiest poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I Forbear to write further, having a world of Difcourse to unload unto you; like those that weed not a Garden till it be grown a Wood.

# To Iz. Wa.

In answer of a Letter requesting him to perform his promise of Writingthe Life of Dr. Donne.

My worthy Friend,

Am not able to yield any reason, no, not so much as may fatisfie my felf, why a most ingenuous Letter of yours hath lain follong by me (as it were in Lavender) without an Answer, save this only, The pleasure I have taken in your Style and Conceptions together with a Meditation of the Subject you propound, may feem to have cast me into a gentle shumber. But being now awaked, I do herein return you most hearty thanks for the kind profecution of your ift. motion, touching a just Office, due to the memory of our ever memorable Friend: To whole good fame, though it be needless to add any thing, (and my age confidered, almost hopeless from my Pen;) yet I will endeavour to perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the Life of fo deferving a man, I may perchance over-live mine own.

That which you add of Doctor King, (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated into my native foil) is a great spur unto me: with whom I hope shortly to confer about it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb, which was my genial Air) and invite him to a friendship with that Family where

where his Predeceffor was familiarly acquainted. I shall write to you at large by the next Messenger, (being at present a little in Business) and then I shall set down certain general Heads, wherein I desire Information by your loving Diligence; hoping shortly to enjoy your own ever welcome Company in this approaching time of the Fly and the Cork. And so I rest

Your very hearty poor Friend to ferve you, H. WOTTON.

## To the same.

My Worthy Friend. Ince I last faw you, I have been confined to my Chamber by a quotidian Fever, I thank God, of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought; but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a furcrew of those splenetick Vapours that are called Hypochondriacal; of which most fay, the Cure is good Company; and I defire no better Physician than your felf. I have in one of those fits endeavoured to make it more easie by composing a short Hymn; and since I have apparelled my best Thoughts so lightly as in Verse, I hope I shall be pardoned, a second vanity, if I communicate it with fuch a Friend as your felf: to whom I wish a chearful Spirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greatest Blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

Your poor Friend to serve you, H. WOTTON.

# A Hymn to my God in a Night of my late Sickness.

OH thou great Power! in whom I move, For whom I Live, to whom I Die, Behold me through thy beams of Love, Whilst on this Couch of Tears I lie; And cleanse my fordid Soul within, By thy Christs Blood, the Bath of Sin.

No hallowed Oyls, no grains I need, No Rags of Saints, no purging Fire, One Rosie drop from David's Seed, Was Worlds of Seas to quench thine Ire. O precious Ransome! which once paid, That Consummatum est was said.

And faid by him, that faid no more, But feal'd it with his Sacred Breath, Thou then that haft difpong'd my Score, And dying waft the Death of Death, Be to me now, on Thee I call, My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All.

H. WOTTON.

## To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

Cannot (according to the Italian phrase, at which I have been often ready to laugh, among a Nation otherwise of so civil Language) accuse

cuse the receit of any Letter from you, fince your remove from these parts, save of two by this Bearer. my Servant and yours, as all mine shall be. Neither can I fatisfie my imagination (fo far I am from quieting my defire) where a third (which you intimate in your last) may yet lie smothered in some Pocket, for which I should have made a great refearch, if that were not the diligentest way to mis The truth is, as I do highly estimate every line from your Pen, fo on the other fide, I am as jealous that any of them should stray: For when a Friend of mine, that was lately going towards your City, fell casually into some discourse with me, how he should cloath himself there; I made fome fport to tell him, (for a little beguiling of my Melancholy Fumes) that in my opinion the cheapest stuff in London was Silence. But this concerneth neither of us both, for we know how to fpeak and write fafely, that is, honeftly: Always, if we touch any tender matter, let us remember his Motto, that wrote upon the Mantle of his Chimney. where he used to keep a good fire, Optimus Secretariorum.

I owe you abundant thanks for the Advertifements in your last, so clearly and judiciously delivered; you cannot do me a greater favour: for though I am a Cloystered Man in the Condition of my present Life, besides my Consinement by Instrmity, yet having spent so much of mine Age among Noise abroad, and seven Years thereof in the Court at home, there doth still hangupon me, I know not how, a certain Concupiscence of Novelties.

I am forry I have nothing in that kind at the prefent to interchange with you. In mine own Sickness I had of late, for one half Night, and a whole day following, a perfect Intermission like a Truce from all Symptoms: but some of them are returned again, and I am afraid it will be hard to throw our altogether this same Saturnine Enemy, being now lodged in me almost a full year.

In your way of applying the Leeches, I have found

fensible Benefit.

If I could get a lodging near Paul's Church, I would fain pass a Week there yet before the great Festival.

Pardon me (good Sir) this Communication with you of my Domestick purposes; and pardon me likewise the use of another Mans hand in this Letter, for a little ease of mine own Head and Eyes. And so I rest,

> Your Hearty Friend and Servant in all Occasions,

> > H. WOTTON.

Sir, Your Subscription of Aldrovandus putteth me in mind of a mishap which befel me in the time of my private Travels; I had been in a long pursuit of a much commended Author, named Johannes Britanniens de re Metallica, and could never see him, but in the Library of the brave Monks of Mont d'Oliveto in the Contado di Siena; where while I had taken order to have him transcribed, Aldrovando passing that way, borrowed him from the Monastery: and I sending not long after unto him in Bologna, my Friend sound him newly dead: And this was the period of my Fruitless Curiosity.

To

# To Doctor C.

t blood vlob roll to Worthy Sir, See by your Letters, by your Difcourses, and by your whole Conversation, that you are a Friend of great Learning, and (which are ronmonly confociated ) of as great humanity; which shall make me study by any means, within the narrowness of my Fortune and Judgment, to deferve your love.
The rest I leave to this Bearer, my Servant,

Hill to I : have somewhat with As I am yours, H. WOTTON.

#### To Doctor C. with my offering wearing

Worthy Sir, In ....

Enceforward no Complemental Forms between us. Let others repute them according to the Latin Denomination, Fine Civil filling of Speech and Letters. For my part, in good Faith ex Diametro, I ever thought they were meer Emptinesses; yet they may chance ferve between fome Natures to kindle good will; but I account our Friendship no longer in fieri.

You have so represented - into me, as methinks I fee him walking not like a Funambulus up. on a Cord, but upon the Edge of a Razor. What shall I retribute to you from hence? Nothing but a pretty Accident in a fad Subject. There was, you a young Widow of know, inhabitant in -

value: Who lately dying at London, whither she went to solace with some of her Friends, left order by Will that her Body should be buried in her dwelling Parish, as it was this week, where—made the Funeral Sermon, who had been one of her professed Suitors; and so she did not want a passionate Elogist.

as well as an excellent Preacher.

For the Estate of mine own Body, it is not so well as my Servant seems by your Letter to have laid it before you. It is true, that the Symptomes are well allayed, or otherwise peradventure Custom hath taught me to bear them better, being now familiarized and domesticated evils, fam mansura mala: Yet still the hot sumes continue in the night, and the salivation by day, but in somewhat a lesser measure; besides a streightness of breathing, which I should be glad to know whether you observe in other Hypochondriacal Patients. And if you can advise me of a good Errynum, I have a strong fantasie, ex Fernelio, that it will discharge my head: but such juyces and expressions as he appointed, are not now to be had. Sir, pardon me this trouble: and God have you in his love,

Your affectionate Friend to ferve you unceremoniously,
H. WOTTON.

## To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

Now return unto you your fecret Papers again; whereof, left I should violate the Communications of such a Friend, I have not so much

much as referved a Copy (though I might have done it, by your leave) but I have peruled them fo often, as I think, I can fay them without Book. The Scene feemeth fince then much changed to the worfe; yet I hope all will resolve into nothing: And that when things appear most tempestuous, they will be nearest a calm; according to your great Appears in Physick, Nox ante Crism est mole-stiffina.

I befeech you, Sir, not to conceive by the tardity of my Answer unto you, any faintness in the acknowledgement of your favours; but to profecute your Friendly Intelligence upon occasion, even when I shall be on the other side of you, as perchance I shall be shortly in my genial soil: For I will teach the Foot-Posts of that place to find your Lodging. And so leaving you in Gods dear love,

I reft,

Your professed poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

## To Dr. CASTLE.

SIR.

Et me pray you, that the subject of these lines may be only to recommend unto your Counsel and good Affection the Bearer of them, Mr. John Gainsford, the nearest Kinsman on my Mothers side that I have living, and yet my nearer Friend, so as I have more than a single interest in his health: He is much travelled with an exorbitant essuit of my which, though it be a natural preventive to some evils; yet surely, with-

Cc 2

out either stop or Moderation, must needs exhaust his Spirits. He hath had heretofore some taste of your Acquaintance at large, and you have left in him illos aculeos, which you do in all that ( after the Scotish Phrase) get but a gripe of you : for you are indeed a wounding Man, as my Servant Nicholas faith, to whom I shewed your last Letter. This my dear Coufin, in one thing especially, is capable of good hope from your Advice, that he believes in it by my Discourse with him, who truly must confess that I have received much Benefit by yours, touching my fplenetical Infirmity; which differeth from his no more than the stopping or running of the fame fpout. Besides this, he is the fitter for you to work upon, because he hath yet tryed no remedy; not fo much as the ordinary Diversion of opening another Vein. Sir, I commend him most heartily into your Hands; and because you have two Capacities, (as our Lawyers fpeak) a Political and Philosophical, from both which I draw much good: Give me leave to entertain you with a Letter of some few Novelties from Oxford, received as I was thinking to thut up the Present, which shall end in ever professing my felf,

> Your very hearty poor Friend, H. WOTTON.

#### To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

OU are the very man, who hath authenticated unto me that Sentence which we read in the life of Attions, delivered by Corne-

lips

lins Nepos, That Prudentia est quædam divinatio. So as truly hereafter, when I shall receive from the Intelligences of your Friends, and your own Judgement upon them, any Sinister Prognostick, it will make me open your next Letter with trembling singers.

It is one among many wonders unto me, that the young Lord C hath made a Transition to the contrary party: I thought he had been better elemated

at Eton.

I fend you herewith, for a little Exchange, the Copy of an Elegant Letter, which came unto me by the last Boat from a Friend, both of Studies and Affairs touching foreign Troubles; which it is not amiss to contemplate, if it be but for some Diversion from our own; Christendom was never, within our Age, so inflamed. I hope the ends of the World are come upon us.

I shall shortly remove into Kent; but while I am absent, there is one shall wait on you weekly in London, to receive and to convey any of your Commands to me; for that is the true name of all your

Requefts.

d

1115

To your professed plain Friend,

H. WOTTON.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

MY Lords Grace of Canterbury had this Week fent hither to Mr. Hales, very nobly, a Prebendaryship of Windsor unexpected, undefired, like one of the Favors (as they write) of Henry the Seventh's Time.

Cc 3

To

## To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

Have received your last of the 24th of May, through the hands of Mr. Jones of Windsor, immediately upon my return to mine ordinary Cell; whence Imade a short retirement during the late Solemnities, with intention, in truth, to have visited the City of Bath, and to see whether among all kind of affected persons consuent thither, I could pick out any counsel to allay that sputative Symptom which yet remaineth upon me from my obstructions of the Spleen. But that journey is laid

afleep.

Now, Sir, in answer to your faid Letter; it grieves me to tell you a truth, which this my Servant well knoweth, That I am for the future Election of this year, so ingaged already to four Privy-Councellors (and three of them of the highest) and moreover to a Friend of great Interest in all the breath that I have to bestow, that, in good faith, I know not how to struggle for a voice for a Child of rare, and almost prodigious hopes, who is one of my poor Scholars, and much less for any other propounded fo late as your Friends Son: For it is now more than a month fince the day of our Election was proclaimed on our College and Church-gates; the World is nimble in the anticipating of Voices, and for my particular, according to my improvidence in all things elfe, I am in this likewise no reserver of my good will till the last: I must therefore heartily befeech you, as I have delivered my felf at your disposal, so to difpofe

dispose of me when I am my felf, which I am not now. And fo Ireft,

Unquiet till Ishall some way serve you, H. WOTTON.

### To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

T is one of the wonders of the World unto me. how your Letters come fo flowly; which if either themselves or their Bearers knew how welcom they are, would flie. I fpeak this both by some other before, and by your aft of the 19. of December, which was almost nine days on the way: and I hope the Scene of Scotland much changed in

the mean while to the better.

But to let go exotick matter, if that may be fo termed, I must congratulate with you your actual possession of the Place of the----For although your own Merit was (before you had it) in their Judgements that understand you, a kind of present inveflure; Yet I learned long fince of our old Mafter at Oxford, That Actus is better than Potentia: which yet, I hope, will not divert you from your Philosophical Profession, wherein I know no man of fweeter or founder ability. And fo, Sir, I reft,

Very truly and affectionately

at your Command,

H. WOTTON.

Honorable Sir.

Tor this time. I pray you accept in good part from me a Bottle made of a Serpentine Stone, which hath the Quality to give any Wine or Water that shall be insufed therein, for four and twenry Hours, the Taste and Operation of the Spaw Water, and is very Medicinable for the Care of the Spleen and the Gravel, as I am informed; But sure I am, that Sir Water Raleigh put a value upon it, he having obtained it amongst the Spoils of the Governor of St. Omy, in his last Paral Expedition, and by his Page understood the Virtues thereof, and that his Captain highly esteemed it. And shrely, some good Cures it hath wrought fince it came into my hands for chose two Insurances.

Etracted from a Letter of the Earl of Cork, written to Sir Henry Wotton, Decemb. 22. 1636.

SIR,

Irft, I must thank you for the fruition of your L. at life here, though it was too short. Next, for your Pictures; whereof I return one by this first Boat, and retain the other longer by your Courtesse.

Thirdly, and most of all, for a promise which I receive from you by my Servant, or at least a hope, that you will fend me some of your own rural Poesse: That will be a nearer Image of your inward felf, especially when you were retired into your felf. I do therefore expect it greedily by this; for I well remember to have seen some lines that slowed from

from you with much thrength and grace. When you have any great piece of News, 1 pray now and than Candidus imperti to

Your professed Servans, H. WOTTON.

SIR,

Lthough I am now a retired and cloystered Man, yet there do still hang upon me, I know not how, some reliques of an harkning Humor.

The easiest way for you to quench this Appetite in your poor Friend, is to empty your self into my Servant, whom I fend to salute you, and to know

two things.

First, whether you be of the Parliament your self. Next, whither I should be forry that I am not of it. You can by this time resolve me of both. We are here only sed with certain Airs of good Hope, Ca-

melion's food.

More I will not fay now, and you fee by this little, how tender I am to Usurp upon your time: Yet before I end, let me ask a third Question; Have you no playing and breathing days? If you be of the House, might you not start hither for a Night or two? The interposing of a little Philosophical diet, may perchance lighten a Man's Spirits surcharged with publick Thoughts, and prevent a surfeit of State. Howsoever, hold me fast in your love; and Gods mercy be where you are.

Tour poor Friend and Servant,
Alla fuifcerata,
H. WOTTON.

# To Dr. C. 1638.

Worthy Sir,

Find in the Bowels of your last (which I received yesternight, shall I say by your or by my Nicholas ) much harsh and stiff matter from Scotland, and I believe infusceptible of any farther Concoction, unless it be with much time, quod concoquit omnia. But let me lay all publick thoughts aside for the present, having now with you a bosom-Business, which may perhaps fall out to concern us more here. Our Nicholas ( for I account him at least halfed between us ) tells me that you have good means to know when ----will be in Town. About whom you may perhaps have heard of certain (as I think for my part) well conceived Wishes (though but yet in the Air) touching a vertuous Conjunction between him and ; fo dear unto me, both in my Affection and Judgment, and in all Respects, that if our nearness in Blood did not make me more tender to violate mine own Modesty, than I need to be with such a Friend as you are; I would boldly fay, that there are few better Matches in this Kingdom, for the indowments of her Person and Fortune; nor in the whole World, for the fweetness and goodness of her Mind. And on the other fide, albeit I have no Acquaintance with the Geraleman; yet I hear likewife fo much good of him, as makes me wish I had more interest in his familiarity. I write this from whence I wrote my last unto you, being on my wings towards Canterbury whence I shall ( oùv

As I rest in your Love,

H. WOTTON.

#### To Sir C. C.

SIR,

Et me first thank you much for that Rural Communication with your own Thoughts, the best of all Companions. I was first taken with the Virginity (as I may say) of the Inscription in our Vulgar. Next with a Natural suavity in the Elocution; which, though it be Lyrical, yet it shews you can put on the Buskin when you list: And when you are tempted again to solicite your own Spirits, I would sain have you venture upon some Tragical Subject, though you borrow it out of Arabia; For I am glad our England cannot yield it. I hear, for matter of Novelty, That Sir Thomas Roe (a well-chosen Instrument) is to take his leave on Sunday next at Court, being designed to be one of the great Synod of Protestant

Ambassadors, that are to meet at Hamborough; which to me sounds like an Antiphone to the other malign Conjunction at Colen. And so (Sir) committing you to Gods dear love, I rest,

At your Commands,

H.W.

Sir, I retain your Poem for a Pawn that I shall have

the reft.

And I fend you a few poor Lines, which my pains did beget: I pray keep them under your own favorable Judgment, and impart them tenderly to others; for I fear that even the best of our thoughts may be vainly clothed.

SIR,

Had fooner given you an account of your two last kind Letters, even for mine own sake, upon whom otherwise you should have had just cause to bestow no more of your excellent intelligence, but that I have had this my Servant (and I can affaire you as much yours) every day upon his wings towards you a pretty while.

To abbreviate Complement, which never ageed with my Naure. In a few plain words both my

felf, and all about me are yours.

Sir, I was glad by your last, to see in the Scottish Ruptures a Thread of Hope yet lest. It is like an Instrument wholly out of tune, but yet not all the strings broken or cut; especially if it be true, which is here voiced with us, that my Lord—

a po-

a popular Orator, is fent thither to fmooth the way towards a pacifical Treaty between certain of the Kings Deputation, and others of the Covenant.

This Bearer will tell you what we hear of certain Rumorous Surmifes at N and the Neighbouring Towns, God (who is himself the true Center of Rest) make us all quiet and have you in his Love.

By your Affectionate, professed poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

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### POEMS.

A Poem Written by Sir HENRY WOT-TON in his Youth.

Faithlefs World, and thy more faithlefs part, a Womans Heart!

The true Shop of variety, where fits nothing but Fits

And fevers of defire, and pangs of love, which toys remove.

Why, was she born to please, or I to trust Words writ in Dust?

Suffering her Eyes to govern my despair, my pain for Air;

And fr it of time rewarded with untruth, the food of youth.

Untrue

Untrue she was: yet, I believ'd her eyes (instructed spies)

Till I was taught, that Love was but a School to breed a fool.

Or fought she more by triumphs of denial, to make a trial

How far her fmiles commanded my weakness? yield and confess,

Excuse no more thy folly; but for Cure, blush and endure

As well thy shame, as passions that were vain:

and think, 'tis gain
To know, that Love lodg'd in a Womans breft, Is but a guest.

H. W.

#### Sir Henry Wotton, and Serjeant Hoskins riding on the way.

- Ho. NOble, lovely, vertuous Creature, Purposely so fram'd by Nature To enthral your fervants wits.
- Wo. Time must now unite our hearts: Not for any my deferts, But because (methinks) it fits.
- Ho. Dearest treasure of my thought, And yet wert thou to be bought With my life, thou wert not dear.
- Wo. Secret comfort of my mind, Doubt no longer to be kind, But be fo, and fo appear.

Ho. Give me love for love again,

Let our loves be clear and plain,

Heaven is faireft, when 'tis cleareft.

Wo. Left in clouds, and in differring,
We refemble Seamen erring,
Fartheft off, when we are neareft.

Ho. Thus with numbers interchanged,
Wotton's Muse and mine have ranged,
Verse and Journey both are spent.

Wo. And if Hoskins chance to fay,
That we well have spent the day,
I, for my part, am content.

H. W.

#### On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia.

YOU meaner Beauties of the Night,
That poorly fatisfie our Eyes,
More by your number, than your light,
You Common people of the Skies;
What are you when the Sum shall rise?

You curious Chanters of the Wood, That warble forth Dame Natures lays, Thinking your Voices understood; By your weak accents; what's your praise When Philomel her voice shall raise?

You Violets, that first appear, By your pure purple maniles known, Like the proud Virgins of the year, As if the Spring were all your own; What are you when the Rose is blown?

So, when my Mistrifs shall be seen In Form and Beauty of her mind, By Vertue first, then Choice a Queen, Tell me, if she were not design'd Th' Eclipse and Glory of her kind?

H. W.

#### To a Noble Friend in his Sickness.

Ntimely Fever, rude infulting gueft, (heat How didft thou with fuch unharmonious Dare to diffune his well-composed rest, Whose Heart so just and noble strokes did beat?

What if his Youth and Spirits well may bear More thick Affaults, and stronger Siege than this? We measure not his Courage, but our fear: Not what our felves, but what the Times may miss.

Had not that Blood, which thrice his Veins did yield,
Been better treasur'd for some glorious day:
At farthest West to paint the liquid Field,
And with new Worlds his Masters love to pay?

But let those Thoughts, fweet Lord, repose a while, Tend only now, thy vigour to regain;
And pardon these poor Rhimes, that would beguile With mine own Grief, some portion of thy pain.

H. W.

#### A fort Hymn upon the Birth of Prince Charles.

YOU that on Stars do look,
Arrest not there your fight,
Though Nature's fairest Book,
And signed with propitious light;
Our Blessing now is more Divine,
Than Planets that at Noon did shine.

To thee alone be praise,
From whom our foy descends,
Thou Chearer of our Days,
Of Causes first, and last of Ends:
To thee this May we sing, by whom
Our Roses from the Lilies bloom.

Upon this Royal Flower,
Sprung from the chafteft Bed,
Thy glorious weetness shower,
And first let Myrtles Crown his Head;
Then Palms and Lawrels wreath'd between;
But let the Cypress late be seen.

And so succeeding Men,
When they the fulness see
Of this our for, shall then
In consort joyn as well as we,
To celebrate his Praise above,
That spreads our Land with Fruits of Love.

H. WOTTON.

### An Ode to the KING,

#### At his returning from Scotland to the Queen,

after bis Coronation there.

R Ouse up thy self, my gentle Muse,
Though now our green Conceits be gray,
And yet once more do not refuse.
To take thy Phrygian Harp, and Play
In Honor of this chearful Day.

Make first a Song of Joy and Love, Which chastely slame in Royal Eyes; Then tune it to the Spheres above When the benignest Stars do rise, And sweet Conjunctions grace the Skies.

To this let all good Hearts refound, While Diadems invest his Head: Long may he live, whose Life doth bound More than his Laws, and better Lead By high Example, than by Dread.

Long may He round about Him fee
His Roses and His Lilies bloom:
Long may His only Dear and He
Joy in Ideas of their own,
And Kingdoms Hopes so timely sown;
Long may they both contend to prove,
That best of Crowns is such a Love.

Upon the sudden Restraint of the Earl of Somerset, then falling from Favour.

DAzled thus with height of place, Whilst our Hopes our Wits Beguile, No man marks the narrow space Twixt a Prison and a Smile.

Then fince Fortunes favours fade, You that in her Arms do fleep, Learn to fwim and not to wade; For the Hearts of Kings are deep.

But if Greatness be so blind, As to trust in Towers of Air, Let it be with Goodness lind, That at least the Fall be fair.

Then though darkned you shall say, When Friends fail, and Princes frown, Vertue is the roughest way, But proves at Night a Bed of Down.

H.W.

#### The Character of a happy Life.

HOw bappy is he born and taught,
That ferveth hot anothers will?
Whose Armour is his bought thought,
And simple truth his utmost Skill?

Whose Passions not his Masters are, Whose Soul is still prepar'd for Death; Unti'd unto the World by care Of publick Fame, or prevate Breath,

Dd 2

Who envies none that chance doth raise, Nor Vice hath ever understood; How deepest Wounds are given by praise, Nor Rules of State, but Rules of good.

Who hath his Life from Rumours freed, Whose Conscience is his strong retreat: Whose State can neither Flatterers feed, Nor Ruine make Oppressors great.

Who God doth late and early pray, More of his Grace than Gifts to lend: And entertains the harmless day With a Religious Book, or Friend.

This man is freed from fervile hands, Of hope to rife, or fear to fall: Lord of himself, which had not of Lands, And having nothing, yet hath all.

H. WOTTON.

# On a Bank as I fate a Fishing. A Description of the Spring.

A ND now all Nature seem'd in Love,
The lusty Sop began to move;
New Juice did stir th'embracing Vines,
And Birds had drawn their Valentines:
The jealous Trout, that low did lie,
Rose at a well-dissembled Flie:
There stood my Friend, with patient Skill
Attending of his trembling Quill.

Already

Already were the Eves possest
With the swift Pilgrims daubed nest,
The Groves already did rejoyce
In Philomel's triumphing voice.

The showres were short, the weather mild, The Morning fresh, the Evening smil'd.

Jone takes her neat-rub'd Pale, and now She trips to milk the Sand-red Cow; Where for fome flurdy foot-ball Swain, Jone strokes a Sillabub or twain.

The Fields and Gardens were befet With Tulip, Crocms, Violet:
And now, though late, the modest Rose
Did more than half a blush disclose.

Thus all look'd gay, all full of chear, To welcom the New-livery'd year.

H. W

## A Translation of the CIV. Psalm to the Original Scafe.

MY Soul exalt the Lord with Hymms of Praise:
O Lord my God, how boundless is Thy might?
Whose Throne of State is cloath'd with Glorious Rays,
And round about hast robe'd Thy self with Light.
Who like a Curtain hast the Heavens display'd,
And in the watry Roofs thy Chambers laid.

Whose Chariots are the thickned Clouds above,
Who walk'st upon the winged winds below,
At whose Command the Airy Spirits move,
And fiery meteors their obedience show.

Who on this Base the Earth didst firmly found,
And mad'st the deep to circumvest it round.

Dd 2

The

The Waves that rife would drown the highest Hill,
But at thy Check they flie, and when they hear
Thy thundering Voice, they post to do thy Will,
And bound their furies in their proper Sphere:
Where furging Floods, and valing Ebbs can tell,
That none beyond thy Marks mult fink or swell.

Who hath dispos'd, but thou, the winding way
Where Springs down from the steepy crags do beat,
At which both foster'd Beasts their Thirsts allay,
And the wild Asses come to quench their heat;
Where Birds resort, and in their kind, thy praise
Among the Branches chant in warbling lays.

The Mounts are watered from thy dwelling place,
The Barns and Meads are fill'd for Man and Beaft;
Wine glads the Heart, and Oyl adorns the Face,
And bread the staff whereon our strength doth rest;
Nor strubs alone feel thy sufficeing hand,
But even the Cedars that so proudly stand.

So have the Fowls their fundry feats to breed:
The ranging Stork in flately Beeches dwells;
The climing Goats on Hills fecurely feed;
The mining Coneys shroud in rocky Cells:
Nor can the Heavenly Lights their course forget,
The Moon her turns, or Sun his times to set.

Thou mak'st the Night to over-vail the Day;
Then savage Beatts creep from the silent Wood,
Then Lions Whelps lie roaring for their Prey,
And at thy powerful Hand demand their Food:
Who when at Morn they all recouch again,
Then toyling Man till Eve pursues his pain.

O Lord, when on thy various works we look, How richly furnish'd is the Earth we tread! Where, in the fair Contents of Nature's Book, We may the Wonders of thy Wisdom read:

Nor Earth alone, but lo, the Sea so wide, Where great and small, a world of Creatures glide.

There go to the Ships that furrow out their way; Yea, thereof Whales enormous fights we fee, Which yet have scope among the rest to play, And all do wait for their support on Thee:

Who hast assign'd each thing his proper food, And in due season dost dispence Thy good.

They gather when Thy gifts thou dost divide;
Their stores abound, if Thou thy hand enlarge;
Confus'd they are, when Thou thy beams dost hide;
In dust resolv'd, if Thou their breath discharge.
Again, when Thou of Life renew'st the seeds,
The withered Fulds revest their chearful weeds.

Be ever gloried here Thy Soveraign Name,
That thou may'll finile on all which thou hast made;
Whese frown alone can shake this earthly frame,
And at whose touch the Hills in smoak shall vade.
For me, may (while I breath) both burp and voice,
In sweet indictment of thy Hymns rejoyce.

Let Sinners fail, let all Profaneness cease; His Praise, (my Soul) His Praise shall be thy Peace.

H. WOTTON,

Tears at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton (who was buried at Southampton) wept by Sir H. Wotton.

Silence (in truth) would speak my forrow best, For, deepest wounds can least their feelings tell; Yet, let me borrow from mine own unrest, But time to bid him, whom I loved, farewel.

O my unhappy Lines! you that before Have ferv'd my Youth to vent some wanton cries, And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore Strength to accent, Here my Albertus lies!

This is the fable Stone, this is the Cave, And Womb of Earth that doth his Corps embrace; While others fing his praife, let me engrave These bleeding Numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of wo, Here will I pay my tribute to the Dead, And here my faithful Tears in showres shall flow, To humanize the Flints whereon I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchles loss alone, And none between my Weakness judge and me; Yet even these gentle Walls allow my moan, Whose doleful Echoes to my Plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I Rhyming here, As if fome Muse would listen to my Lay, When all distund fit waiting for their Dear, And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play? Dwell thou in endless Light, discharged Soul; Freed now from Natures, and from Fortunes trust: While on this fluent Globe my Glass shall roul, And run the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

Upon the death of Sir Albert. Morton's Wife.

HE first deceased; She for a little tri'd To live without him: lik'd it not, and di'd.

H. W.

This Hymn was made by Sir H. Wotton, when he was an Ambassador at Venice, in the time of a great Sickness there.

E Ternal Mover, whose diffused Glory,
To shew our groveling Reason what thou art,
Unfolds it self in Clouds of Natures story,
Where Man, thy proudest Creature, acts his part:
Whom yet (alas) I know not why, we call
the Worlds contracted sum, the little all.

For, what are we but lumps of walking clay?
Why should we swell? whence should our spirits rise?
Are not bruit Beasts as strong, and Birds as gay?
Trees longer livid, and creeping things as wise?
Only our souls were left an inward light,
To seel our weakness, and confession might.

Thouthen, our ftrength, Father of life and death, To whom our thanks, our vows, our felves we owe, Prom me thy tenant of this fading breath, Accept those lines which from thy goodness flow;

And thou that wert thy Regal Propher's Muse, Do not thy Praise in weaker strains refuse.

Let these poor Notes ascend unto thy Throne, Where Majesty doth sit with Mercy Crown'd, Where my Redeemer lives, in whom alone The errours of my wandring life are drown'd: Where all the Quire of Heaven resound the same, That only Thine, Thine is the Saving Name.

Well then, my Soul, joy in the midst of Pain; Thy Christ that conquer'd Hell, shall from above With greater triumph yet return again, And conquer his own Justice with his Love; Commanding Earth and Seas to render those Unto his Bliss, for whom he paid his Wass.

Now have I done: now are my thoughts at peace, And now my Joyes are ftronger than my grief: I feel those Comforts that shall never cease, Future in Hope, but present in Belief.

Thy words are true, thy promises are just.

And thou wilt find thy dearly bought in Dust.

H. WOTTON.

## POEMS

Found among the Papers of Sir HENRY WOTTON.

A Description of the Country's Recreations.

Q'7ivering fears, Heart-tearing cares, Anxious fighs, Untimely tears, Fly, fly to the Courts;
Fly to fond worldlings fports,
Where ftrain'd Sardonick smiles are closing flill,
And grief is forc'd to laugh against her will;
Where mirth's but mummery,
And forrows only real be.

Fly from our Country pastimes! fly,
Sad troop of human misery!
Come serene looks,
Clear as the Chrystal brooks,
Or the pure azur'd Heaven, that smiles to see
The rich attendance of our poverty.
Peace and a secure mind,
(Which all men seek) we only find.

Abused Mortals! did you know
Where Joy, Hearts ease, and comforts grow,
You'd scorn proud towers,
And seek them in these bowers,
Where winds sometimes, our woods perhaps may
But blustring care could never tempest make,
Nor murmurse're come nigh us,
Saving of Fountains that glide by us.

Here's no fantastick Mask, nor dance,
But of our Kids, that frisk and prance:
Nor wars are seen,
Unless upon the green
Two harmless Lambs are butting one the other;
Which done, both bleating run, each to his Mother.
And wounds are never found,
Save what the Plow-share gives the ground.

Here are no false entrapping baits, To hasten too too hasty fates; Unless it be The fond Credulity

Of filly fish, which worldling like, still look
Upon the Bait, but never on the Hook:
Nor envy, unless among

The Birds, for prize of their fweet fong.

Go! let the diving Negro feek
For Gemms hid in some forlorn creek;
We all Pearls scorn,
Save what the dewy morn
Congeals upon each little spire of grass;

Which careless Shepherds beat down as they pass;
And Gold ne're here appears,
Save what the yellow Ceres bears.

Bleft, filent Groves, O may ye be
For ever Mirth's best Nursery!
May pure contents
For ever pitch their Tents (Mountains,
Upon these Downs, these Meads, these Rocks, these
And peace still slumber by these purling Fountains!
Which we may every year

Find when we come a fishing here. Ignoto.

Imitatio Horatiana Odes 9. Donec gratus eram tibi, Lib. 3.

#### A DIALOGUE betwixt GOD and the SOUL.

Soul. W Hilft my Souls eye beheld no light, (fight. But what stream'd from thy gracious To

To me the Worlds greatest King, Seem'd but some little vulgar thing.

- God. Whil'ft thou prov'dft pure; and that in thee I could Glass all my Deity:
  How glad did I from Heaven depart,
  To find a Lodging in thy Heart!
- S. Now Fame and Greatness bear the sway, (Tis they that hold my Prisons Key:)
  For whom my Soul would die, might she Leave them her Immortality.
- G. I, and some few pure Souls conspire, And burn both in a mutual Fire, For whom I'll die once more, ere they Should mis of Heavens eternal day.
- S. But Lord, what if I turn again,
  And with an Adamantine Chain,
  Lock me to thee? What if I chafe
  The World away to give thee place?
- G. Then though these Souls in whom I joy
  Are Seraphims, Thou but a toy,
  A Foolith Toy, yet once more I
  Would with thee live, and for thee die.

Ignoto.

#### Doctor B. of TEARS.

Ho would have thought, there could have bin Such joy in Tears wept for our Sin? Mine Mine Eyes have feen, my heart hath proved
The most and best of earthly joys:
The sweets of love, and being loved,
Masks, Feasts, and Plays, and such like Toys.
Yet, this one Tear, which now doth fall,
In true Delight exceeds them all.

2. Indeed, mine Eyes at first let in Those Guests that did these woes begin, Therefore mine Eyes in Tears, and Grief, Are justly drown'd: but, that those Tears Should Comfort bring, is past belief: Oh God! in this thy Grace appears, Thou that mak'ft light from darkness spring, Mak'ft joyes to weep, and sorrow sing.

3. Oh where am I! what may I think? Help, help, alass my Heart doth sink; Thus lost in Seas of wo, Thus laden with my fin, Waves of Despair dash in, And threat my overthrow.

What Heart opprest with such a weight Can chuse but break, and perish quite?

4. Yet, as at Sea in Storms, Men use The Ship to save, the Goods to lose; So, in this searful Storm, This danger to prevent, Before all hope be spent, I'll chuse the lesser harm: My Tears to seas I will convert, And drown my Eyes to save my Heart.

7. Oh God my God! what shall I give
To thee in thanks! I am and live
In thee, and thou didst fase preserve
My Health, my Fame, my Goods, my Rent,
Thou makest me eat while others sterve:
Such unto me thy Blessings are,
As if I were thy only Care.

6. But, oh my God! thou art more kind, When I look inward on my mind:

Thou fillest my Heart with humble joy, With Patience, Meekness, fervent love, (Which dotheall other loves destroy)

With faith (which nothing can remove)

And hope afflured of Heavens Blifs;
This is my State, thy Grace is this.

#### By Chidick Tychborn (being young and then in the Tower) the Night before his Execution.

I. MY prime of Youth, is but a Frost of Cares, My Feast of joy, is but a Dish of pain, My Crop of Corn is but a Field of Tares, And all my good is but vain hope of gain: The day is past, and yet I saw no Sun, And now I live, and now my life is done.

2. The Spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung;
The Fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green:
My youth is gone, and yet I am but young:
I saw the World, and yet I was not seen.
My Thread is cut, and yet it is not spun:

And now I live, and now my life is done.

3. I fought my Death, and found it in my Womb, I looked for Life, and faw it was a shade, I trod the Earth, and knew it was my Tomb, And now I die, and now I am but made. The Glass is full, and now my Glass is run, And now I live, and now my Life is done.

R Ife, oh my Soul, with thy defires to Heaven,
And with Divinest Contemplation, use
Thy time, where times eternity is given, (buse;
And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts aBut down in darkness let them lie,
So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die,

2. And thou, my Soul, infpir'd with holy flame,
View and review with most regardful Eye,
That holy Cross whence thy Salvation came,
On which thy Saviour, and thy Sin did die:
For in that facred Object is much pleasure,
And in that Saviour is my Life, my Treasure.

3. To thee (O Jefu) I derect my Eye,
To thee my hands, to thee my humble Knees,
To thee my Heart shall offer Sacrifice,
To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only sees:
To thee my felf, my felf and all I give;
To thee I die, to thee I only live.

Ignoto.

#### Sir Walter Raleigh the Night before his Death.

E Ven fuch is time that takes on trust Our youth, our joyes, our all we have, And pays us but with Age and Dust; Who in the dark and silent Grave,

(When

(when we have wandred all our ways)
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this Earth, this Grave, this Duft,
My God shall raise me up, I trust.

W.R.

The World.

THe World's a bubble and the life of man less than a span.

In his Conception wretched; from the womb, fo to the Tomb.

Nurst from his Cradle, and brought up to years,

Who then to frail Mortality shall trust,
But limns on Water, or but writes in Dust.
Yet, whil'st with forrow here we live opprest,
what life is best?

Courts are but only fuperficial Schools, to dandle Fools:

The rural part is turned into a Den

of favage Men:
And where's a City from foul vice fo free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three?
Domestick Cares afflict the Husband's bed.

or pain his Head:

Those that live fingle, take it for a curse, or do things worse: (none,

These would have Children, those that have them or wish them gone:

What is it then to have, or have no Wife, But fingle thraldom, or a double strife? Our own Affections still at home to please is a Disease.

To cross the Seas to any foreign soil, peril and toil.

Еe

Wars

Wars with their noise affright us; when they cease we're worse in peace.

What then remains, but that we ftill should cry For being born, and being born to die?

Fra. Lord Bacon.

#### De morte.

An's Life's a Tragedy: his Mother's Womb
(From which he enters) is the tiring Room;
This fpacious Earth the Theater; and the Stage
That Countrey which he lives in: Paffions, Rage,
Folly, and Vice are Actors: The first cry
The Prologue to th' ensuing Tragedy.
The former Act consistent of dumb shows;
The second, he to more Perfection grows;
I'th' third he is a Man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin:
I'th' fourth declines; I'th' fifth Diseases clog
And trouble him; then Death's his Epilogue.

Ignoto.

#### EPIGRAM.

IF breath were made for every man to buy, The poor Man could not live, rich would not die.

# John Hoskins to his little Child Benjamin from the Tower.

Sweet Benjamin, fince thou art young, And halt not yet the use of Tongue, Make it thy slave, while thou art free, Imprison it, lest it do thee.

LET.

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# LETTERS

TO

Sir EDMUND BACON.

SIR.

T is very just, fince I cannot personally Accompany this Gentleman, yet that I do it with my Letter: wherein if I could transport the Image of mine own Mind unto you, as lively as we have often reprefented you unto our felves abroad, then I should not think us afunder while you read it. But of my longing to fee you, I am a better feeler than a describer; as likewise of my Obligations towards you, whereof it is not the leaft, that I have been by your Mediation, and Judgment, and Love, furnished with so excellent a Comforter of my Abfence, and fo loving and discreet a divider and easer of my Travels; after whose separation from me, I am ready to fay that which I remember the younger Pliny doth utter with much feeling, after the loss of his venerable and dearest Friend Cerellius Rufus; Vereor (faith he) ne post hac negligentins vivam. But herein my Case is better, than his: for I cannot but hope, that fome good Occasion will bring him again nearer me: And I must confess unto you, I should be glad to fee him planted for a while about the King, or Prince. Ee 2

Prince that fo if his own Fortune be not mended by the Court, yet the Court may be bettered by him in that which it doth more desperately want. Now, Sir, besides himself, there cometh unto you with him an Italian Doctor of Phylick, by name Gaffero Despotini; a Man well practifed in his own faculty, and very Philosophical and found in his Discourses: By birth a Venetian; which though it be not Urbs ignobilis (as Saint Paul faid of his own Mother-City.) yet is his fecond Birth the more Excellent; I mean his Illumination in God's faving Truth, which was the only Caufe of his remove; and I was glad to be the Conductor of him where his Confcience may be free; though his Condition otherwife (till he shall be known) will be the poorer. This Stranger I was defirous to prefent unto you as my Friend. in his Company, whose testimony may more value him than mine own: And so committing them both to your love, and your felf with all that Family to God's Bleffing hand, I reft,

From my Lodging in Kings Street, April 2. 1611.

Your poor Friend, and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

IT is late at Night, and I am but newly come to the Knowlege that my Lord is to fend a Meffenger unto you to morrow Morning; yet howfoever, I have refolved not to be left out of this dispatch, though in truth I had rather be the Footman

man my felf, than one of the Writers. But here I am tied about mine own business; which I have told you like a true Courtier; for right Courtiers indeed have no other business but themselves. Our Lord Felis bless you all as you are now together and wherefoever you shall be.

Your Uncle by your own election. From Greenwich, May 27. 1611.

and your Servant by mine,

H. WOTTON.

### 1612, 13.

SIR.

Must now acknowledge it true which our Navigators tell us, that there be indeed certain variations of the Compass: for 1 think there was never point of a Needle Better touched than you have touched me, having ever fince I parted from you, been looking towards you, and yet still by fomething or another, I am put out of my courfe. I will therefore hereafter not promife you any more to come unto you, but I will promife my felf it; because indeed I have no other means to be at peace with my felf: for I must lay this heavy note upon your conversation, that I am the unquieter for it a good while after.

This is the first part of what I meant to say. After which I would fain tell you, That I fend this Foot-man exprelly unto you to redeem fome part of my fault, for not answering your late kind Letter by the Messenger that brought it: Tut the

Ee's

truth

truth is, I had some special occasion to fend to Berry: and therefore I will fet no more upon your account, than his fteps from thence to Rederave. where perhapsyou now are. See what a real Courtier I am, and whether I be likely to prosper. Well. howfoever, let me entertain your a little by this opportunity, with fome of our discourses. The King departed yesterday from hence towards you; having as yet, notwithstanding much voice, and some wagering on the other fide, determined nothing of the vacant places: Whereupon the Court is now devided into two opinions; the one, that all is referved for the greater honor of the Marriage; the other, that nothing will be done till a Parliament, or (to fpeak more precifely) till after a Parliament: which latter conceit, though it be fpread without either Author or ground, yet as many things elfe of no more validity, it hath gotten faith enough on a sudden. I will leave this to the judicial Aftrologers of the Court, and tell you a tale about a fubject formewhat nearer my capacity.

On Sunday last at night, and no longer, some sixteen Apprentices (of what fort you shall guess by the rest of the Story) having secretly learnt a new Play without Book, intituled The Hog bath lost bis Pearl; took up the White-Fryers for their Theater: and having invited thither (as it should seem) rather their Mistresses than their Masters; who were all to enter per buletim for a note of distinction from ordinary Comedians. Towards the end of the Play, the Sheriss (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they say) and carried some six or seven of them to perform the last Act at Bridewel; the rest are sted. Now it is strange to hear how

how sharp-witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir John Swinerton, the Lord Major, be meant by the Hog, and the late Lord Treasurer by the Pearl. And now let me bid you good night, from my Chamber in King-street this Tuesday, at Eleven, of the night.

Your faithfullest to serve you, H. WOTTON.

Francesco hath made a proof of that Green which you fent me; against which he taketh this exception, That being tryed upon Glass, (which he esteemeth the best of tryals) it is not translucent; arguing (as he saith) too much density of the matter, and confequently, less quickness and spirit than in colours of more tenuity.

#### Cambridge, Sunday at Night.

SIR.

To divert you from thinking on my faults, I will entertain you with some News out of a Letter which I have here received from Venice, of

much confequence diverse ways.

The Bishop of Bamberge, a Practical Almaign Prelate, (of which kind there be enough of that Coat, though not in that Country) was treating in Rome a League against the Protestant Princes of Germany, with whom His Majesty (you know) was first by Articles, and is now by Alliance more nearly consederate: His Commission he had from the Emperor, Sotto parole tacite as they call it. Now, while this matter was there moulding, a Chiam arrives at the Emperor's Court, with a Letter from the Turk; E e 4

importing a denunciation of War, grounded upon a heap of complaints eafily found out between Princes that do not intend to agree. And accordingly the Turk is departed in Person from Constantinople into Hungary with great Forces (as my Friend writeth) on a morning quando nevicava a furia (by which appeareth the sharpness of the humor,) having made a leavy before his going of 5000 youths out of the Seragli; a thing ever feen before. He hath left behind him Nasuf Bassa as President of his Affairs, who told the Bajolo of Venice, there resident, that his Mafter was but gone to hunt: and feemeth to have held the same Language with the other Ambaffadors: whether out of meer wantonness of conceit, or as esteeming a War with Christians. but a fport, in respect of that which he had newly concluded with the Persian, I know not: howsoever, this is likely to quath the Bishops business, and I fear it will fall heavy upon Germany: which first in it felf was never more difunited; and befides, the Emperor in small good will with those that should help him. It will likewise in my conjecture hasten the departure of the Count Palatine, or at least (ifit fo please him) it may well serve his turn for that purpose.

This is all that I have for your entertainment: To morrow morning I depart hench towards London: whence I determine to write by every Carrier to

you, till I bring my felf.

In your last, you mentioned a certain Courtier that seemeth to have spoken somewhat harshly of me: I have a guess at the man; and though for him to speak of such as I am, in any kind whatsoever, was a favor: yet I wonder how I am fallen out of his estimation, for it is not long since he offered

fered me a fair Match within his own Tribe, and much addition to her Fortune out of his private bounty. When we meet, all the world to nothing we shall laugh; and in truth, Sir, this world is worthy of nothing else. In the mean time, and ever, our sweet Saviour keep us in his love,

Year poor faithful Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

#### March the last, 1613.

SIR,

Returned from Cambridge to London fome two hours after the King. The next day was celebrated with twenty Tilters, wherein there entred' four fraternities: the Earls, Pembroke and Mongommery; my Lord Walden, Thomas and Harry Hawards; the two Riches, and the two Alexanders, as they are called (though falfly, like many things else in a Court.) The rest were Lenox, Arundel, Rutland, Dorfet, Chandowes, North, Hey, Dingwel, Clifford, Sir Thomas Sommerfet, and Sir John Harrington. The day fell out wet to the difgrace of many fine Plumes. Some Caparilons feen before, adventured to appear again on the Stage with a little difguisement, even on the back of one of the most curious: So fragal are the times, or fo indigent. The who Riches only made a Speech to the King: the rest were contented with bare Imprese; whereof fome were fo dark, that their meaning is not

yet understood; unless perchance that were their meaning, not to be understood. The two best, to my fancy, were those of the two Earls Brothers: The first a small exceeding white Pearl, and the word, Solo candore valeo. The other a Sun casting a glance on the fide of a Pillar, and the Beams reflecting, with this Motto, Splendente refulget. In which divices there feemed an agreement; the elder Brother, to allude to his own nature, and the younger to his fortune. The day was fignalized with no extraordinary accident, fave only between Sir Thomas Haward, and Sir Thomas Sommerfet, who with a counter-buff had almost fet himself out of the Saddle, and made the others Horse fink under him; but they both came fairly off without any further diffrace. Of the merits of the rest I will fay nothing, my Pen being very unfit to fpeak of Launces.

To this folemnity, of the publick Ambasladors, only the Arch-Duke was invited, for the healing of the distaste he had taken for the preference of the Venetian at the marriage. But I doubt the Plaister be too narrow for the fore; which he feemed not much discontented that men should note in his whole countenance that day. Towards the evening a challenge paffed between Archy, and a famous Knight, called Sir Thomas Persons; the one a fool by election, and the other by necessity: which was accordingly performed fome two or three days after, at Tilt, Torny, and on foot both compleatly armed, and folemnly brought in before their Majesties, and almost as many other meaner eyes as were at the former. Which bred much fport for the prefent, and afterwards upon cooler confideration much cenfure and discourse, as the manner is. The

The departure of the Count Palatine and my Lady Elizabeth is put off from the Thursday in the Easterweek, till the Tuefday following: which day I think will hold. The Commissioners that accompany her, have the titles of Ambaffadors, to give them precedency before Sir Ralph Wimwood at the Hague; and likewise in any encounters with Almaign Princes. Sir Edward Cecil goeth as Treasurer, to keep up that Office in the name; though it be otherwise perhaps from a General, rather a fall than an afcent, Before this Journey there is a conceit, that the Duke of Lenox will be naturalized a Peer of our Parliament, and my Lord of Rochester be created Earl of Devonshire. The Foreign matter is little increased fince my laft unto you from Cambridge. The Savay Ambassador not yet arrived. The Tinks designs hitherto unknown, and marching flowly according to the Nature of huge Armies: In which sufpence the Venetians have augmented their guard in the Gulf: enough to confirm unto the world, that States must be conferved, even with ridiculous fears. This is all that the Week yiekleth. My Lord and Lady have received those Letters and loving falutations which my Foot man brought. And to with mine own hearty prayers to God for you, and for that most good Niece, I commit you both to his bleffing and love,

Your faithfullest of unprofitable Friends,

H. WOTTON.

I pray Sir remember me very particularly to my Coufin Nicholas, your worthy Brother; for whose health our good God be thanked.

Sir James Cromer is this week dead of an Apofrem in his fromach, and in him the name; unless his Lady (as she seemeth to have intention) shall revive it with matching one of her four Daughters with a Cromer of obscure fortune, which they say it latent in your Shire.

From my Chamber this Thursday, St. George bis Eve, 1613.

SIR,

THE last week, by reason of my being in Kent, was a week of silence; and this I think will

appear unto you a week of wonder.

The Court was full of discourse and expectation, that the King being now difincumbred of the care of his Daughter, would towards this Feast of St. George fill up either all, or some at least of those places that had laid vacant fo long, and had been in this time of their emptiness a subject of notorious opposition between our great Viscount and the House of Suffolk. Thus I say ran the opinion: When yesterday about fix a Clock at Evening, Sir Thomas Overbury was from the Council-Chamber conveyed by a Clerk of the Council, and two of the Guard to the Tower; and there by Warrant configned to the Lieutenant as close Prisoner: Which both by the fuddenness, like a stroke of Thunder, and more by the quality and relation of the person, breeding in the Beholders (whereof by chance I was one) very much amazement; and being likely in fome proportion to breed the like in the

terms,

the Hearers, I will adventure for the fatisfying of your thoughts about it, to fet down the forerunning and leading Caufes of this accident, as far, as in fo fhort a time I have been able to wade in fo deep a Water. It is conceived that the King hath a good while been much diftafted with the faid Gentleman, even in his own Nature, for too stiff a Carriage of his Fortune; besides that scandalous Offence of the Queen at Greenwich, which was never but a palliated Cure. Upon which confiderations, His Majesty resolving to severe him from my Lord of Rochester, and to do it not disgracefully or violently, but in some Honourable Fashion; He commanded not long fince the Arch-Bishop by way of familiar Discourse, to propound unto him the Ambassage of France, or of the Arch-Dukes Court; whereof the one was shortly to be changed, and the other at the prefent vacant: In which Proposition it feemeth, though shadowed under the Arch-Bishops good will, that the King was also contented fome little light should be given-him of His Majesties Inclination unto it, grounded upon his Merit. At this the Fish did not bite; whereupon the King took a rounder way, commanding my Lord Chanceller, and the Earl of Pembroke to propound joyntly the fame unto him (which the Arch-Bishop had before moved ) as immediately from the King, and to fweeten it the more, he had (as I hear) an offer made him of affurance before his going off the place, of Treasurer of the Chamber, which he expecteth after the Death of the Lord Stanbop; whom belike the King would have drawn to some reasonable Composition. Notwithstanding all with Motives and Impulsives, Sir Thomas Overbury refused to be fent abroad, with such

terms, as were by the Council interpreted pregnant of contempt, in a Case where the King had opened His Will; which refusal of his, I should for my part efteem an eternal diffrace to our Occupation, if withal I did not confider how hard it is to pull one from the bosom of a Favorite. Thus you fee the point upon which one hath been committed flanding in the second degree of power in the Court, and conceiving (as himself told me but two hours before) never better than at that present of his own Fortunes and ends. Now in this whole marter, there is one main and principal doubt, which doth travel all understandings; that is, Whether this were done without the Participation of my Lord of Rochefter: A point necessarily infolding two different Confequences; for if it were done without his Knowledge, we must expect of himself either a decadence or a ruin; if not, we must then expect a Reparation by fome other great publick Satisfaction, whereof the World may take as much notice. These Clouds a few days will clear: In the mean while I dare pronounce of Sir Thomas Overbury, That he shall return no more to this Stage, unless Courts be governed every year by a new Philosophy, for our old Principles will not bear it.

I have shewed my Lord and Ladies Sister your Letter of the 18th of April, who return unto you their Affectionate Remembrances, and I many thanks for it. The King hath altered his Journey to Thetford, and determineth to entertain himself till the Progress nearer London. The Queen beginneth her Journey upon Saturday towards Bathe. Neither the Marquess di villa (who cometh from Savoy,) nor Don Pedro di Sarmiento (who shall refide

fide here in the Room of the present Spanish Ambas-fador) are yet either arrived, or near our Coast, though both on the way: So as I can yet but cast towards you a longing, and in truth an envious look from this place of such servility in the getting, and such uncertainty in the holding of Fortunes, where methinks we are all over-clouded with that sleep of Jacob when he saw some ascending, and some descending; but that those were Angels, and these are Men: For in both, what is it but a Dream? And so, Sir, wishing this Paper in your hands, to whom I dare communicate the freest of my Thoughts I commit you to God's continual Love and Blessings.

Your faithful poor Friend and Servant,

H. Wotton.

I pray, Sir, let me in some corner of every Letter tell my sweet Niece that I love her extreamly.

SIR,

Have newly received your last of the 25th. of April, and acquainted my Lord with the Postficript thereof, touching your Father's sickness; of which he had heard somewhat before by Sir R. Drury, who at the same time told him the like of my Lady, your Mother. But we hope now, that the one was never true, and that the other (which you confirm) will be light and sufferable, even at heavy years.

The long expected Ambassador from Savoy atrived yellernight at Dover: so as now I begin by the Virtue of a greedy Desire to anticipate before hand, and to devour already some part of that contentment which I shall shortly more really enjoy in your sight and Conversation.

Sir Thomas Overbury is still in the Tower, and the King hath fince his Imprisonment been twice here, and is twice departed, without any Alteration in that

matter, or in other greater.

My Lord of Rochester, partly by some relapse into his late infirmity, and partly (as it is interpreted) through the grief of his Mind, is also this second time not gone with the King: some argue upon it, that disassiduity in a Favorite, is a degree of Declination; but of this there is no Appearance: Only I have set it down, to shew you the hasty Logick of Courtiers.

The Queen is on her journey towards Bathe.

My Lady Elizabeth and the Count Palarine, having lain long in our poor Province of Kent languishing for a Wind, (which, she sees, though it be but a vapour, Princes cannot command) at length on Sunday last towards Evening did put to Sea; some eight days after a Book had been Printed and Published in London, of her entertainment at Heidelberg; so nimble an Age it is. And because I cannot end in a better jest, I will bid you farewel for this Week, committing you, and that most beloved Niece, to Gods dearest Blessings.

London this Thursday the 29th. of April, 1612.

H. WOTTON.

## 1613.

SIR,

YOur Friend Sir Robert Killegrew hath been committed to the Fleet, for conferring with a close Prisoner in a strange Language: which were (as I hear) the two Circumstances that did aggravate his error.

Of his Case whose love drew him into it, I can yet make no Judgment: The Humor seemeth to be sharp, and there is Wisdom enough in those that have the handling of the Patient to manage the matter, so that at length his Banishment from the Court may be granted as a point of grace. The Nature of his Alteration was (as you rightly judge it) in the first Access somewhat apoplectical, but yet mingled in my Opinion with divers Properties of a Lethargy; whereof we shall Discourse more particularly when we meet, which I now long for besides other Respects, that we may lay aside these Metaphors.

This very Morning shall be heard at the Star-Chamber the Case of Sir Peter Buck, an Inhabitant at Rochester, an Officer (as I take it) of the Navy, who hath lain some good while in Prison, for having Written to a Friend of his at Dover a Letter containing this News, that some of the Lords had kneeled down to the King for a Toleration in Religion; besides some particular Aspersion in the said Letter of my Lord Privy-Seal; whom likewise of late a Preacher or two have disquieted; whereby he hath been moved besides his own Nature, and (as some think also) besides his Wisdom, to call these things into publick Discourse; quae spreta exolescent; sancient grave Sentences do not deceive us.

My Lady of Shrewsbury, my Lord Gray, and the Lady Arabella, remain still close Prisoners since their last restraint, which I signified unto you in a little Ticket. Sir William Wade was yesternight put from

the Lieutenancy of the Tower.

I fet down these Accidents barely, as you see, without their Causes; which in truth is a double fault, Writing both to a Friend, and to a Philosopher: but my lodging is so near the Star-Chamber, that my Pen shakes in my hand: I hope therefore the Ambassador of Savoy (who hath already had two Audiences) will quickly be gone, that I may slie to you, and ease my Heart. By the next Carrier I shall tell you all his Business. In the mean while, and ever, our dear Saviour blessyou.

Your faithful poor Friend to serve you,

1613.

### H. WOTTON.

This Friday Morning, May 7. in fuch hafte, that I must leave my dear Niece unanswered, till I can better Assemble my Spirits, and call the aid of the Muses.

SIR,

YOur Kinsman and Friend Sir Robert Killegrew, was in the Fleet from Wednesday of the last Week till the Sunday following, and no longer; which I reckon but an Ephemeral sit, in respect of his Instruity, who was the Cause of it; which to my Judgment doth every day appear more and more hectical. Yesterday his Father petitioned the King

King (as he came from the Chappel) that his Son might have a Phylician, and a Servant allowed him, as being much damaged in his Health by close imprilonment: which for my part I believe, for the Dileates of Fortune have a kind of Transhifton into the Body, and ffrong working Spirits, wanting their usual Objects, revert upon themselves; because the Nature of the Mind being ever in Motion, must el-

ther do or fuffer.

I take Pleasure (speaking to a Philosopher ) to reduce (as near as I can) the Irregularities of Court to constant Principles. Now to return to the Matter: The King hath granted the Phylician, but denied the Servant; by which you may guess at the Issue: For when Graces are managed to narrowly by a King, otherwife of fo gracious, Nature, it doth in my Opinion very clearly demonstrate the Asperity of the Offence. Sir Gards Elos (before one of the Pensioners) is now swern Lieutenant of the Tower, by the Mediation of the House of Suffolk, notwithstanding that my Lord of Rocharge; which the faid Keys had for a good while (and this maketh the Cafe the more strange) always fupplied even by Patent in the Absence of Sir William Wade. Upon which Circumstances (though they feem to bend another way ) the Logicians of the Court do make this Conclusion; That His Majefty fatisfying the Suffolcians with petty things, intendeth to repair the Viscount Rochester in the main and groß. And therefore all men contemplate Sir Henry Nevil for the future Secretary; some saying that it is but deferred till the return of the Queen, that she may be allowed a hand in his Introduction: Which likewife will quiet the Ff 2 voices

voices on the other fide; though furely that point be little necessary : For yet did I never in the Country, and much less in the Court, see any thing done of this kind, that was not afterwards approved by those that had most opposed it : fuch viciffitudes there are here below, as well as of the rest, even of Judgment and Affection. I would fay more, but I am fuddenly furprized by the Secretary of the Savoy Ambaffador, who I think will depart about the end of the Whitfon-Holy-days, for which I languish. With his Business I can acquaint you nothing till the next Week, by reason of this surprisal: And besides, it hath diffurbed my Muses so, I must remain still in debt to my fweet Niece, for that Poetical Postfcript that dropped out of her Pen. I do weekly receive your Letters, which in truth are more Comfort than I could hope to purchase by mine: so as whereas before I had determined to continue this my troubling of you but till I should see you next, I have now made a Refolution to plant a Staple, and whenfoever we shall be separated, to venture my whole poor flock in traffique with you, finding the return fo gainful unto me. And so committing you to God's dearest Bleffings, Lever rest,

May 14. 1613. Your faithfullest

poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

Have not yet presented to my Lord that Box which came with your Letter of this week; for he removed on Wednesday with the King and Houshold to Greenwich: And I still remain here, to shew you, that the Court doth, like a Loadstone, draw only those that are intra orbem virtuin suc: I mean, within the compass and circle of profit.

The Savoy Ambaffador feemeth in his fecond Audience to have discharged all his Commission; or otherwise he wanteth authority to proceed further than to a general overture, till the arrival of the Cavalier Battista Gabaleoni, who is hourly expected, and is here to remain as Resident for the said

Duke.

With him likewise come certain other Gentlemen of Title, who should from the beginning have dignisted the Ambassador's Train: but the cause of this stragling, was a sudden attempt, which the Duke immediately after the Ambassador's departure (who appointed those Gentlemen to follow him) made upon the Marquisate of Monserrato, where he surprized three Towns with the Petarde: the first time (as one writesh from Venice) that ever that pestilent invention had been put in practice beyond the Alps.

The cause of this attempt, was, for that the Cardinal Gonzaga (now Duke of Manua) had yielded to send home the Dowager Insanta to the Duke of Savoy her Father: but would retain her only Child, a Daughter of two years: in whose right the said Duke of Savoy pretendeth colourably enough

to the forefaid whole Marquisate; and clearly to all the moveables left by the late Duke of Mantua her Father, who died intestate. Into which point of Law, there entered besides some lealousie of State", being unfit for respects that would have fallen eafily into the apprehension of duller Princes than the Italian, to leave a Child out of the Custody of her Mother, in his, that was to gain by the Death of it: Yet am I of opinion, who have a little contemplated the Duke of Savoy's complexion, that nothing moved him more in this business, than the threatnings of the French Queen, who had before commanded Didiguires to fall into the faid Duke's Effates by way of diversion, if he should meddle with the least Village in the Monferrato: which feminine menacement did no doubt incite him to do it out of the impatience of fcorn: And withal, he built filently upon a ground, which could not well fail him; That the King of Spain would never fuffer the French Souldiers to talte any more of the Graves and Melons of Lombardy, because L'apetit vient en mangeant: which the Issue of the businesses hath proved true; for the Governor of Milan, having raifed a tumultuary Army of Horse and Foot, did with it only keep things in ftay from farther progress on both sides, till the agreement was made between the Duke of Mantua himself in Person, and the Prince of Piedmont, within the Town of Milan. The accord is advertised the King from Venice and Paris. The conditions will be better known at the arrival of Gabaleoni; and then likewise we shall see the bottom of this Errand, which hath been hitherto nothing, but a general proposition of a match between the same Lady that was formerly offered, and our Prince now living: which

which the Ambassador hath touched so tenderly, as if he went to manage his Master's credit. Upon the whole matter, I cannot conceive (though he seemeth to let fall some phrases of haste) that he will be gone yet this fortnight or three weeks, till when I languish. And so let me end all my Letters, ever resting,

May 21. Your faithfullest poor Friends and Servant, 1613.

H. WOTTON.

### May the 27.

SIR,

Do as unwillingly put my Pen to tell you, as I am fure you will be to hear, what hath befallen my Nephew Albertas this Week. He was going on Friday last towards evening in a Coach alone, whose driver alighting (I know not upon what occasion) hard by Charing-Cross, the Horses (being young) took fome attrightment, and running away fo furiously, that one of them tore all his Belly open upon the corner of a Beer Cart; my Nephew (who in this mean while adventured to leap out) feemeth to have hung on one of the pins of the Boot, from whence strugling to get loofe, he brake the waste-band of his Hose behind, and so fell with the greater violence on the Ground, hurting only the hindermost part of his head, by what possibility we cannot conceive, unless the motion of the Coach did turn him round in the fall. The force of the concussion took from him, Ff4 for

for fome hour or thereabouts, the use of his voice and fence, which are now well restored; only, there yet remaineth in his left arm a kind of Paralitical stupefaction, and his right eye-lid is all black with fome knock that he took in the agitation of the Coach; which peradventure may have been the motive to make him leap out. But these external evils do not fo much trouble us, as an inward pungent and pulfatory ach within the skull. fomewhat lower than the place of his hurt; which hath continued more or less fince his fall, notwithflanding twice letting Blood, and fome nights of good rest, and shaving of his head for the better transpiration; which we doubt the more, because it cometh fine ratione, his hurt being only in the fleshy part, and very sleight, without fracture of the skull, without inflammation, without any Fever, and all the principal faculties, as memory, discourse, imagination unrainted, The King hath in this time much confolated us both with lending unto him, and with expressing publickly a gracious feeling of his cafe: but we must fetch our true comforts from him, who is Lord of the whole; and fo I leave it.

Since my last unto you, I am sure you hear how Sir Robert Mansfield hath been twice or thrice convented before the Lords, and committed to the Marshalfey; partly for having consulted with Mr. Whitlock, the Lawyer, about the validity of a Commission drawn for a refearch into the Office of the Admiralty, whereof himself is an Accomptant; and partly for denying to reveal the name of the said Lawyer, his Friend, who before had been committed to the Fleet for another case much of the same nature. The point toucheth a limb of the King's

King's Prerogative, and immediate Authority. Sir Robert Mansfield's Answers (by report) had as much of the Philosopher, or of the Hermite, as of the Souldier, or Courtier; professing openly his little care of this World, or of his own Fortunes in it: and divers other phrases of that complexion. Sir Thomas Overbury is still where he was, and as he was, without any alteration: The Viscount Rochester yet no way sinking in the point of Favor;

which are two ftrange confiftents.

Sir R. Drury runneth at the Ring, corbeteth his Horse before the King's window, haunteth my Lord of Rochester's Chamber, even when himself is not there; and in secret divideth his observances between him and the House of Suffolk: And all this (they say) to be Embassador at Bruxels. So as super tota materia, I see appetites are not all of a kind: Some go to the languish to obtain. I will end with my Paper, and by the next Carrier either tell you precisely when I shall see you, or prevent the telling of it. And so our sweet Saviour bless you and my dear Niece.

H. WOTTON.

SIR.

BY the next Carrier (for yet I must say so again) you shall hear when this Embassador will be gone. The mean while let me entertain you with the inclosed Paper, which the Duke of Savoy hath published in his own defence; joyning together the Sword and Reason.

Sir Robert Mansfield is still in restraint. Sir Thomas Overbury not only out of liberty (as he was) but al-

most now out of Discourse

We have lately started at a dispatch from Ireland, importing a variance there, about the choice of a Speaker in the summoned Parliament; which came to so sharp a point, that the Deputy was fain to fetch Wisdom from hence. Sure it is, that the humours of that Kingdom are very hovering, and much awaked with an apprehension taken that we mean to fetter them with Laws of their own making; which in truth were an ingenious strain of State. My Lord and Lady are stollen down into Kent for a few days to take in some fresh Air. They go not this next Progress, if my Brother can get leave of the King to see his Grand children; where he intends to spend some fortnight, and the rest of the time between Boughton and Canterbury.

A Match treated and managed to a fair probability between my Lord Cook's Heir, and the second Daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, is suddenly broken; the said Lord Cook having underhand entertained discourse about the Daughter of the late Sir Thomas Bartlet, who in defect of her Brother,

shall be Heir of that Name.

I have nothing more to fay; and therefore God keep you and my fweet Niece in his continual Love.

Your poor Uncle, faithful

Friend, and willing Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Alber-

Albertus (God be thanked) groweth better and better, and in the midst of his own pains, hath remembred those in Suffolk, whom we both so much Honor.

SIR,

IN my last I told you, that the Ambassador of Savoy was to meet the Queen at Windsor, which pains she hath spared him by her own coming yesternight to Greenwich, where I think she will settle her self a day or two before she admit him. Now, seeing the time of the Commencement at Cambridge so near as it is, and being able to determine of this Ambassador's departure within that space, I have resolved to take those Philosophical exercises in my way to you, hoping in the mean time to see Alberton admitted by Oath to a Clerkship of the Councel, or at least to the next vacancy, for he is

now ftrong enough again to fwear.

Sir Robert Mansfield, and Mr. Whitlock were on Saturday last called to a very Honorable hearing in the Queen's Presence-Chamber at Whitehall before the Lords of the Council, with intervention of my Lord Cook, the Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, the Lord chief Justice being kept at home with some infirmity. There the Attorny and Sollicitor first undertook Mr. Whitlock, and the Recorder (as the King's Sergeant) Sir Robert Mansfield; charging the one as a Councellor, the other as a Questioner in matters of the King's Prerogative and Soveraignty, upon occasion of a Commission intended for a refearch into the administration of the Admiralty:

against which the faid Sir Robert Mansfield (being himself so principal an Officer therein) had sought fome provision of advice; and, This was the fumm of the charge, which was diverly amplified: Whitlock in his answer, spake more confusedly, than was expected from a Lawyer, and the Knight more temperately, than was expected from a Souldier. There was likewise some difference noted, not only in the manner, but in the fubstance between them: For Whitlock ended his Speech with an absolute confession of his own offence, and with a promife of imploying himfelf hereafter in defence of the King's prerogative. Sir Robert Mansfield on the other fide. laboured to distinguish between the errour of his Acts, and the Integrity of his Zeal and Affection towards the King, his Mafter: protesting he should hold it the greatest Glory under Heaven to die at his Feet, and that no man living should go before him, if there were occasion to advance his dominions; with fome other fuch Martial strains, which became him well. The conclusion of his speech had fomewhat of the Courtier, befeeching the Lords, if the restraint he had endured were not in their Judgements a fufficient punishment of his errour. that then they would continue it as long as it should please them, and add unto it any other affliction of pain or shame whatsoever; provided that afterwards he might be restored again into his Majefties Favor, and their good opinions. To tell you what they all feverally faid that day, were to rob from the Liberty of our discourse when we shall meet. In this they generally agreed, both Councellors and Judges, to repretent the humiliation of both the Prisoners unto the King in lieu of Innocency, and to intercede for his Gracious Pardon: Which

Which was done; and accordingly the next day they were enlarged upon a Submission under Writing. This is the end of that Business, at which were present as many as the Room could contain, and Menof the best Quality; whom the King was desirous to satisfie, not only about the point in hand, but in some other things that were occasionally awaked; which

I likewise reserve to our private freedom.

The King's Officers are returned from my Lady. Elizabeth , whom they left at Goltzbeime the last of May, where His Majesties expence did cease. This place was chosen for her Consignment in stead of Bacherach, fuspected of Contagion. She was at Andernach feafted by the Elector of Cullen; at Confluence, or Cobolentz (as they call it) by the other of Trier; and at Mentz by the third of those Ecclesiastick Potentates, very Royally and kindly, and (which was less expected) very handsomly. The Count Maurice, and his Brother with Troops of Horse, and a Guard of Foot, accompanied her to Cullen, and entered themfelves into that City with her: (I need not tell you, that though themselves were within, the Horse, and most of the Foot were without the Walls) Which is here (by the wifer fort of Interpreters) thought as hazardous on Act, as either of them both had done in the heat of War; and indeed no way justifiable in foro Sapientia. And therefore fuch Adventurers as these must appeal ad forum Providentia; where we are all covered by his vigilant Mercy and Love: to which I commit you, and my fweet Niece in my hearty prayers.

Your faithful poor Friend, Uncle, and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

I Send you a fprigg of some Flowers, which I have newly received out of *Piedmont*, in Winter and Summer the same; and therein an Excellent type of a Friend.

I am bold likewise to keep my self in the Memory of my Niece, till I see her, with a poor pair of

Gloves of the newest Fashion.

Inventore Henrico Wottono,

Sculptore Crocio.

The 18th. of June, 1613.

## Friday the 23th of June, 1613.

SIR,

Told you in my last, that I would take the Commencement at Cambridge in my way towards you, where I shall be God willing to morrow seven-Night. This I now repeat, to save the telling of it again by the next Carrier, fore-seeing that I shall then be impatient of so much delay as a line of mine own Effusion, which even now doth torture me, while I contemplate some of those green Banks, (that you mention) where when I have you by me (to express my Contentment in the Italian Phrase) Non servero at Papa fratello. The Ambassador of Savoy departed yesterday, making much haste homewards, or at least much shew of it; where he is likely to come timely enough to the

warming of his Hands at that Fire which his Mafter hath kindled; whose Nature in truth doth participate much of the Flint as well as his State. But is not all this out of my way? Sir, Believe it, my Spirits do boyl, and I can hold my Pen no longer than till I have wished all God's Bleffings to be with you, and with that best Niece of the World.

Your poor Uncle and faithful Servant,

H. Wotton.

Alberton was yesterday with me at the Court. And though there be great Disproportion in the space, yet I dare conclude, that as much strength as did carry him to Greenwich, will bear him to Redgrave.

### July 2d. 1613.

SIR,

Hereas I wrote unto you, that I would be at Cambridge as on Saturday next; I am now cast off again till the King's return to London, which will be about the middle of the Week following. The delay grows from a desire of seeing Albertus his Business settled before we come unto you, where we mean to forget all the World besides. Of this we shall bring you the account.

Now, to let matters of State sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this Week at the Banks side. The King's Players had a new Play, called All is true, representing some principal pieces of the Reign of Henry the 8th.

which was fet forth with many extraordinary Circumstances of Pomp and Majesty, even to the matting of the Stage; the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter, the Guards with their embroidered Coats, and the like: sufficient in truth within a while to make Greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now, King Hemy making a Masque at the Cardinal Wolse's House, and certain Cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the Paper, or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the Thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their Eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole House to the very ground.

This was the fatal period of that virtuous Fabrique; wherein yet nothing did perish, but Wood and Straw, and a few for sken Cloaks; only one Man had his Breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broyled him, if he bad not by the benefit of a provident wit put it out with Bottle-Ale. The rest when we meet: till when, I protest every minute is the Siege of Troy. God's dear Bleffings till then and ever be with your

Your poor Uncle, and faithful Servant,

#### H. WOTTON.

I have this Week received your last of the 27th, of fune, wherein I see my steps lovingly calculated, and in truth too much Expectation of so unworthy a guest.

# Novemb. 5, 1613.

Now I begin; but why not before? That queftion shall be answered by the next Carrier, or by a special Messenger the next Week, at which time you shall have an account of all that hath passed, and some Prognostication also upon the suture: for my Penis grown bold and eager with rest, as Dogs that are tied up.

At the present all my care is to let you know that I have received your last, with the enclosed; which although I well understand my self, yet I have not had time since the decyphering to acquaint the party with it, which shall be done as soon as I have sea-

led this, and fent it to the Carriers.

I thought now to have faid no more; but left it lose the grace of Freshness, I pray let me tell you, that yesterday Morning the Viscount Rochester was very solemly in the Banqueting-Hall in the fight of many great ones and small ones, created Earl of Somerses; and in the afternoon, for a farther honouring and signalizing of the day, my Lord Cook (brought in by the said Earl) was sworn a Privy-Councellor; to counterposse the difference of the prosit between the Common-pleas, and the King's Bench.

I will turn over the leaf though I die for it, to remember the heartiest love of my Soul to that good. Niece, to that sweet Niece; to whom I have much to say by the next opportunity. Our dear Saviour

keep you both in his continual Love.

Your faithful Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Touching the Project of our House, believe it Sir, I boyl in it; and am ready to begin again, that I may tell you how busie I have been in the Matter; but let this also be put over till the following Week, which is likely to fall heavy upon you.

Written on the day of our great Preservation, for which our God be ever glorified.

### On Tuesday the 16th. of November.

A N express Messenger will ease us both of the trouble of a Cypher; but I was in pain whether I should send another, or be that Messenger my self, being now as near you as Royson, and scant able to obtain pardon of mine own leverity for not passing farther; yet this may be said for me, that the present Occasion required little noise; and besides, I am newly ingaged into some Business, whereof I will give you a particular account, when I shall first have discharged that part which belongeth to your self.

My Lord, my Brother, having been acquainted with the matter inclosed in your last to me, dispatched the very next day Mr. Pen down to Boughton, for such Writings as had passed at your Marriage; which having consulted with his Lawyers, he found those things to stand in several Natures, according to the annexed Scedule.

For the point of your coming up, he referreth that to your own heart; and I have only charge from him to tell you, that without any such Occasion as this, which seemeth to imply your Affe-

ctionate

ctionate respect of his Daughter, your own Person and Conversation shall be ever most welcome and dear unto him.

As for my Lady, through whole Knowledge, and my felf, through whose Hands you have patted this point of Confidence, if you could behold us, and compare us with my Lord, you should see, though no difference in the reality, yet some in the Fashion. For to him you must allow the fober forms of his age and place; but we on the other fide are mad with gladness, at the hope we have now taken by this Occasion of enjoying both you and my Niece this Winter at London; and we are contented to profess it as profusely as it is possible for a better Pen to fet it down: Nay, for my part (who in this case have formewhat fingle) I flatter my felf yet farther, that the Term (whereof not much now remaineth) will accelerate your coming! which if you refolve, I pray then let me only by this Bearer know it, that I may provide you fome fit Lodgings at a good diftance from White-Hall, for the Preservation of bleffed Liberty, and avoidance of the cumber of kindness; which in troth (as we have privately discourfed) is no fmall one. Now touching my felf.

It may please you, Sir, to understand, That the King when he was last at Hampton, called me to him, and there acquainted me with a general purpose that he had to put me again into some use. Since which time, the French Ambassador (and very lately) having at an Audience of good length besought His Majesty (I know not whether voluntarily, or set on by some of our own) to disincumber himself of frequent Accesses by the choice of some consident Servant, to whom the said Ambassador might Address himself in such Occurrences as did not require the

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King's

King's immediate Ear. It pleased him to nominate me for that charge, with more gracious Commendation than it can beseem me to repeat, though I write to a Friend in whose breast I dare depose even my Vanities. But lest you should mistake, as some others have been apt to do here, in the present Constitution of the Court (which is very ombragious) the Kings end in this Application of me, I multitell you, that it is only for the better preparing of my insufficiency and weakness for the succeeding of Sir Thomas Edmunds in France; towards which His Majesty hath thought meet first to indue me with some knowlege of the French Businesses, which are in motu. And I think my going thither will be about Easter.

Thus you see (Sir) both my next remove, and the exercise of my thoughts till then; wherewith there is joyned this comfort, besides the Redemption from Expence and dept at home (which are the Gulfs that would swallow me) that His Majesty hath promised to do something for me before I go.

Ishould now, according to the promise of my last, tell you many things, wherewith my Pen is swoln; but I will beg leave to defer them till the next opportunity after my coming to London: And they shall all give place now to this one question; Whether there be any thing in this intended journey, that you will command? Which having said, I will end; ever resting

Your faithfullest poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

# June 8. 1614.

SIR. T is both morally and naturally true, that I have never been in perfect health and chearfulness fince we parted; but I have entertained my mind, when my Body would give me leave, with the contemplation of the strangest thing that ever I beheld, commonly called in our Language (as I take it) a Parliament: which hath produced nothing but inexplicable Riddles, in the place of Laws. For first, it is aborted before it was born, and nullified after it had a being; infomuch as the Count Palatine (whose Naturalization was the only thing that passed in both Houses) is now again an Alien. And whereas all other Parliaments have had fome one eminent quality that hath created a denomination; fome being called in our Records mad Parliaments, some merciles, and the like: This I think from two properties almost infociable or feldom meeting, may be termed the Paliament of greatest diligence, and of least resolution that ever was, or ever will be; For our Commetties were as well attended commonly, as full Houses in former Sessions, and yet we did nothing, neither in the forenoon nor after; whereof I can yield you no reason but this one, that our diversions were more than our main purposes; and fome of fo fensible nature, as took up all our reason, and all our passion, in the pursuit of them. Now, Sir, what hath followed fince the diffolution of this Civil Body, let me rather tell you, than lead you back into any particularities of that which is paf-

It pleafed His Majesty the very next morning to call to examination, before the Lords of His Gg 2 Council.

fed.

Council, divers Members of the House of Commons, for some Speeches better becoming a Senate of Venice, where the Treaters are perpetual Princes, than where those that speak so irreverently, are so soon to return (which they should remember) to the natural capacity of Subjects. Of these Examinants, sour are committed close Prisoners to the Tower: 1. Sir Walter Chute: 2. John Hoskins: 3. One Wentworth a Lawyer: And 4. Mr. Christopher Nevil,

fecond Son to my Lord of Abergaveny.

The first made great shift to come thither : For having taken in our House some disgrace in the matter of the Undertakers (of whom he would fain have been thought one) to get the opinion of a bold man, after he had loft that of a wife; he fell one morning into a declamation against the times, fo infipid, and fo unfeafonable, as if he had been put but out of his place for it of Carper, (into which one of my Lord Admirals Nephews is fworn) I should not much have pitied him, though he be my Country man. The fecond is in for more wit. and for licenciousness baptized freedom: For I have noted in our House, that a false or faint Patriot did cover himself with the shadow of equal moderation; and on the other fide, irreverent difcourse was called honest liberty: so as upon the whole matter, No excesses want precious names. You shall have it in Pliny's language, which I like better than mine own translation; Nullis vitiis defunt pretiola nomina.

The third is a filly and simple creature, God himself knows: and though his Father was by Queen Elizabeth at the time of a Parliament likewise put into the place where the Son now is; yet hath he rather inherited his Fortune, than his under-

derstanding: His fault was, the application of certain Texts in Exchiel and Daniel, to the matter of impositions; and saying, that the French King was kill'd like a Calf, with such like poor stuff: against which the French Ambassador (having gotten knowledge of it) hath formed a complaint, with some

danger of his wildom.

The last is a young Gentleman, fresh from the School, who having gathered together divers Latine Sentences against Kings, bound them up in a long Speech, and interlarded them with certain Ciceronian exclamations; as, O Tempora, O Mores .-Thus I have a little run over these accidents unto you, enough only to break out of that filence which I will not call a symptome of my Sickness, but a Sickness it self. Howsoever, I will keep it from being hectical; and hereafter give you a botter account of mine own Observations, This week I have feen from a most dear Niece a Letter, that hath much comforted one Uncle, and a Postscript the other. Long may that hand move, which is fo full of kindness. As for my particular, Take heed of such invitations, if you either love or pity your felves: For I think there was never Needle toucht with a Loadstone that did more incline to the North, than I do to Redgrave. In the mean time, we are all here well; and so our Lord Jesus preserve you there.

Your faithfullest poor

Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON

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Sir

Sir, I pray remember my hearty affection to my Coufin Nicolas Bacon, and all joy to the new conjoyned.

I shall propound unto you the next week a very possible Problem, unto which if you can devise how to attain: Non scriveremo al Papa, fratello.

## London, June 16. 1614.

SIR

THe Earl of Northampton having after a lingring Fever, fpent more ipirits than a younger body could well have born, by the incition of a wennish tumor grown on his thigh, yellernight between eleven and twelve of the Clock departed out of this world: where, as he had proved much variety and viciffitude of fortune in the course of his Life, so peradventure he hath prevented another change thereof by the opportunity of his end: For there went a general voice through the Court on Sunday laft, upon the commitment of Doctor Sharp, and Sir Charles Cormuallis to the Tower, that he was somewhat implicated in that business; whereof I will give you a little account at the present, as far as I have been hitherto able to penetrate. John Hoskins (of whose Imprisonment I wrote unto you by the last Carrier) having at a re examination been queflioned, whether he well understood the confequence of that Sicilian vesper, whereunto he had made forme desperate allusion in the House of Parliament, made answer (and I think very truly) that he had no more than a general Information thereof, being but little conversant in those Histories that lay out of the way of his profession: whereupon upon being preffed to discover whence he then had received this Information, fince it lay not within his own reading; he confessed to have had it from Doctor Sharp, who had infused these things into him, and had folicited him to impress them in the Parliament: And further, that Hoskins hereupon demanding what protection he might hope for, if afterwards he were called into question; the faid Doctor should nominate unto him, besides others. (whose names I will spare) that Earl, who hath now made an end of all his reckonings: affuring him of his affiftance by the means of Sir Charles Cormvallis, with whom the Doctor was conjoyned in this practice. Thus came Sir Charles into difcovery: who being afterward confronted with the Doctor himself, though he could not (as they fav) justifie his own Person, yet did he clear my Lord of Northampton from any manner of understanding with him therein upon his Salvation: which yet is not enough (as I perceive among the People) to sweep the Dust from his Grave. Thus you fee (Sir) the natural end of a great Man, and the accidental ruin of others, which I had rather you should fee in a Letter, than as I did on Sunday at Greenwich: where it grieved my Soul to behold a Grave and Learned Divine, and a Gentleman of good hopes and merits, carried away in the face of the whole Court, with most dejected countenances, and such a greediness at all windows to gaze at unforrunate fpectacles.

The Earl of Northampton hath made three of his Servants his Executors, with a very vaft power, as I hear; and for Overseers of his Will, my L. of Suffolk, my L. of Worcester, and my L. William Haward: To the Earl of Arundel he let all his Land (which will

amount

amount to some 2000 l. of yearly revenue) besides three or four hundred to Mr. Henry Haward, whereof he had before affured him at the time of his Marriage: but neither of them to enjoy a penny thereof asyet this eight year: all which time he intendeth the Fruits of his Estate shall be collected and distributed in legacies and pious uses according to his Will, which hath not yet been feen: but thus much as I have told you was understood before his expiration. To my Lord of Suffolk he hath left his House, but hath disposed of all the moveables and furniture from him: And it is conceived, that he died in fome diffaftful impression, which he had taken against him upon the voices that ran of my Lord of Suffolk's likelihood to be Lord Treasurer : which place will now affuredly fall upon him; and the World doth contemplate my Lord of Rochester for Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Warden of the five Ports. As for the Lord Chamberlainship, it is fomewhat more questionable between my Lord of Pembroke, the Duke of Lenox, and my Lord Knowls. A few days will determine these Ambitions. the mean time, I commit you, who have better objects, to the contemplation of them, and to the mercy of our loving God in all your ways.

Your faithfullest poor Friend and Servant,

#### H. WOTTON.

Sir, I have (I know not how) mislayed the Character which I left you, therefore I pray send me in your very next a Copy. Therefore I have deferred the matter which I am to propound unto you, till the next week, because I must send you some Ore of Lead,

Lead, and Iron withal, which I have not yet gotten. Is there no room left for the remembrance of that dear Neice? God forbid. And I pray, Sir, tell her befides, that a certain Uncle here (whom yet I will not fuffer to love her better than my felf) doth greedily expect fome news from her.

### On Midfummer Morning, 1614.

SIR,

I ke a Woman great with Child, I have threatned you almost every week with a proposition of profit; in which kind of breedings, methinks I am of hard birth: but I hope to be brought to bed by the next Carrier. This week hath yet yielded in the publick small effects to entertain you withal; only, some change of opinion about the suture great

Officers, which are now thus discourfed.

The Earl of Suffolk is still beheld as a Lord Treasurer, and that conjecture hath never fainted since the very first rising of it. But it is thought, that the dignity of Privy-Scal shall lye vacant as it did in the Cecilian times, and that the execution thereof with the Title of Lord Chamberlain, shall be laid on my Lord of Somerset; for if my Lord of Suffolk should remove from the Kings Privacy to a place of much distraction and cumber, without leaving a friend in his room, he might peradventure take cold at his back: which is a dangerous thing in a Court, as Ruygomez de silva was wont to say, that great Artison of Humors. Of the Office of Five Ports, I dare yet pronounce nothing.

My Lord, my Brother, will none of it (as I heard him feriously say) though it were offered him, for reasons which he reserveth in his own breast; yet the late Northampton did either so much esteem it, or thought himself to receive so much estimation from it, as he hath willed his Body to be laid in the Castle of Dover.

Chute, Hoskins, Sharp, and Sir Charles Cormvallis are still in the Tower, and I like not the complexion of the place. Out of France, we have the death of Dr. Carrier, whose great imaginations abroad have had but a short period. And so, Sir, commending you, and that dearest Niece, to God's continual blessings and love, I rest,

Your own in faithfullest affection,

H. WOTTON.

The 7. of June, Style of the place, 1615.

Hear a little voice that you are come to London, which to me is the voice of a Nightingal; for fince I cannot enjoy your prefence, I make my felf happy with your nearness: And yet now, methinks, I have a kind of Rebellion against it, that we should be separated with such a contemptible distance. For how much I love you, mine own heart doth know; and God knoweth my heart. But let me fall into a passion: For what sin, in the Name of Christ, was I sent hither among Souldiers, being by my profession, Academical,

mical, and by my Charge, Pacifical? I am within a day or two to fend Cuthbert my fervant home, by whom I shall tell you divers things. In the mean while, I have adventured these few Lines, to break the Ice of silence; for in truth, it is a cold fault. Our sweet Saviour bless you.

Servidore,

Arrigo Wottoni.

My hot Love to the best Niece of the Workl.

SIR.

Mong those that have deep Interest in whatsoever can befal you, I am the freshest witness of your unexpressible Affections to my most dear Niece; whom God hath taken from us into his erernal Light and rest; where we must leave her, till we come unto her. I should think my felf unworthy for ever of that love she bare me, if in this Case I were fit to comfort you. But it is that only God who can reconfolate us both: Who when he hath called now one, and then another of his own Creatures unto himself, will unclase the final Book of his Decrees, and dissolve the whole: For which I hope he will rather teach us to Thirst and Languish, than to repine at particular Diffolutions I had in a peculiar Affliction of mine own (all within the compass of little time) much Confolation from you; which cannot but be now present with your self; for I am well acquainted with the strength of your Christian mind.

Therefore being kindly invited by the good Mafler of the Rolls to write by his express Messenger unto you; let me (without further Discourse of our griess) only joyn in this with him, to wish your company divided between him and me.

We will contemplate together when we meet our future Blessedness, and our present uncertainties: And I am afraid we shall find too much Argument to drown our private feelings in the publick solicitude. God's love, wherein is all joy, be with us.

From Westminst. this 16. April, 1626.

Your ever true and bearty Servant,

H. WOTTON.

### From the College the 14th. of Decemb. 1628.

SIR,

Have received from London the favourable Lines wherewith you Honoured me then near your departure; which you have somewhat allayed, with the promise of your return at the beginning of the next Term, which consorteth well with a change of my purpose to Christmas in Kent, born in me as I was reading your Letter: For what should I do there in such hast after the Nuprials, when I shall come so as well in Lent? Much ado there hath been towards the point of Conclusion; like that Aphorism of Hippocrates: Non more Christies of molestissima. Loves being in this like Fevers,

as well as in the rest; for one Definition will serve

them both : Cordis accensio.

Jack Dinely is not yet arrived, but we expect him dayly as Messenger from the Queen his Mistress of her late happy delivery, after a foul report that had been maliciously thrown abroad of her Miscarriage by a fall. The Doctor likewise as yet hath given me no answer; but I will quicken him, and put

life I hope into the Bufiness.

Now, let me tell you, That the Noble Sir Gervase Clifton (as in good faith he is in ipsis visceribus) hath been lately here with us, at a time when he hath been content to be entertained with the paftimes of Children; a Latin and a Greek Hyppolitus. How often you were remembred between us, is harder for me to tell you, than I hope for you to believe. Among other Discourse he shewed me a little Excrescence that he hath beginning upon the uttermost ball of his Eyes, a filmy matter like the rudiment of a Pin and Web as they call it. Whereupon fell into my Memory a fecret that Mr. Boban had told me his Mother knew: How to take away that evil in growth, and perchance much more in the Infancy, with a Medicine applyed only to the Wrifts. And I have heard your felf likewife speak of a rare thing for that part. I befeech you (Sir) be pleafed with all possible speed to entreat that receipt from Mr. Bohan, to whom we shall both be much beholden for it. And Sir Fervase Clifton is already so possessed, that he both fays and thinks, that nothing will cure him better than that which any way shall come through your hand unto him. No peace as yet with either of the Kings: The more wished I think with France, The likelier perchance with Spain. No Offices disposed in Court: No Favorite but the Lord Treasurer. More News in my next. For the present, God keep you in his dear love.

Servidore,

H. WOTTON.

### To the Queen of Bohemia.

[The beginning is wanting.]

YEt my Mind and my Spirits give me, against all the Combustions of the World, that before I die I shall kiss again your Royal Hand, in as merry an hour as when I last had the Honour to wait upon your gracious Eyes at Heidelberge.

I will now take the boldness to conclude my poor Lines with a private and humble fuit unto your Majesty; which I bring with me out of Suffolk, from Sir Edmund Bacon's House, and that whole Family; among whom your Majesties Name and Vertue are in sin-

gular Admiration.

There is of that House a young Plant of some fixteen years, well natured, and well moulded both for Face and Limbs, and one of the bravest spirited Boys in Christendom. It is their joynt Ambition, and they have made me their Intercessor, that your Majesty would be pleased to take him for one of your Pages. They want not means otherways to bestow him, but their Zeal towards Your Majesty, and their Judgments guide them to this humble desire, for his most Vertuous and Noble Nurture. And left the ordinary number of

of your Majesty's Attendants in that kind, being perhaps full, might regard their hope of this high favor, I have Commission to assure your Majesty, that their meaning is not to aggravate your charge, for he shall have yearly a competent Provision allowed to maintain him in good Fashion. If my Niece Bacon, of dearest Memory, were alive, (whom God took, not long after my Nephew Albertus, into his eternal Blifs) I am fure she would joyn in this suit unto your Majesty, that all Sexes might enter into the Obligation: But it is your Majesty's own goodness, from which only we can hope for a favorable Anfwer. And fo with all our Prayers, and with my particular obliged Devotion, I most humbly commit your Majelty to God's referved Bleffings, and continual Love, ever refting.

Your Majestie's poor Servant,

in all truth and zeal

H. WOTTON.

### On the 6, of March, 1628.

SIR,

Befeech you let these lines, wish as much affection, though with less civility, convey my good wishes after you, which I should my self have brought before your departure.

You feem to have left the Town somewhat Prophetically, not to be near the noise of a very unhappy morning on Monday last; at which time the Parliament assembling again (which you know had been silenced till that day) was then re adjourned by the King's special Command till Hh

Tuesday next: Whereupon the Lower-House fell into such heat (one Passion begetting another)that the Speaker(who, as discharged by the Royal Power, did refuse to read a kind of Remonstrance which Sir John Eliott had provifionally set down in Paper) was forced into the Chair. It is strange to consider the lubricity of popular Favor; For he that before during this whole Seffion (if fo we may call it) and the former, was so bigbly commended, and even in this very act by some of the soundest and soberest of the House; yet with the general Body is so stript of all his credit in a moment, that I have bardly seen in any Chymical Work such a Precipitation. What hath insued, will be better told you by this good Captain. Some think the Parliament doth yet hang upon a thread, and may be stitched again together: But, that is an airy conceit in my Opinion; yet the peace of Italy, and the Preparations of France against us, are voyced so strongly, that I verily believe we shall have a new summons.

The States of the low Provinces have since their Weflern great Prize, newly taken a Careck out of the East, of buge value: so as their acts are, Sub utroque so-

nantia Phœbo.

5 31

I have not yet sent those Verses to Mrs. Katharine Stanhope, that she may rather have them in the second Edition: For the Author hath licked them over, and you shall have a new Copy sent you by the next Carrier. We have met together once or twice since your going loco solito; but like a disjoynted company, wanting one of our best pieces: God send us often chearfully together; and so I rest,

Your hearty Servant,

H. WOTTON.

When

When Jack Dinely shall return out of Lincolnshire, I will give you an account what I writ by him to the Queen of Bobenia about your Spiritous Nephew. And I will not forget to rouse the Doctor at Cambridge in the Charitable Intention. I pray remember my service to your whole name, and to my Noble Cousin Sir Drue: To whom I will write the next week.

ren thy Foreign Maxims.

C STR, a mil v. wie thingwood beat ym svi

Know that between us there needs little comple-I ment; for which I am for my part to unproper and fo unmoulded, that I often neglect even civil Duties; as well appeared by my coming from London without taking leave of you: but yet I cannot be wanting unto your felf, nor to the least of your Name in any real Service, for that were too much violence to my Nature; therefore before my coming from Westminster, I wrote fuch Letters to the Queen of Bobemia, about your Spiritous Frank as I hope, (together with the good Offices of the Bearer thereof) will place him with the Prince of Orange when he hath taken the Bus. I could have wished that his lively Blood had been a little fleshed at that fiege. But Fack Dinely's long ftay at London for his dispatch, and at Gravesend for a Wind, hath lost us time. We hear that the King of Spain upon the peazing of his Affairs in Italy (where a palm of ground importeth him more than a Province abroad) was resolved to make the Marquess Spinola Governor of Milan, and that the Count Henry Vanden Berge should command the Armies in chief under the Infanta. If this be fo, there will be there Hh 2 Bella

Bella plufquam Civilia, for you know he is near of Blood to the Prince of Orange, though he hath fome a little nearer; For he hath one or two by his own Sifter, as I remember they told me in his Town of Maestrick. The other employment of the Marquess, is a Counsel, plainly taken rather from Necessity than Reason: For otherwise Jealonse of State would hardly commit so much power to a Genousse in the Confines of his own Country, unless I have forgotten my Foreign Maxims.

I have my head towards Kent, with a hope to fee you first there, and afterwards at our Election: which will be the third of Angust. And so with my humble and hearty remembrance to that best of men,

and nobleft of Ladies, I reft

This Monday night late. 1629. Il suisceratissi manente vostro,

H. WOTTON.

A Lthough I intend to write again speedily, and at a little more ease unto you by James, and then to send you and Sir Gervase Cliston the Copy of a Letter, which Giovanni tells me you both defire yet lest you should send over your Frank (who hath from you all his sails and fraught) without part of his balast from me, I have hastened the inclosed Letters unto your hand, with the Copy of mine to the Queen of Bohemia: the other are ad hanc formam. I could wish that he would begin with Jack Dinely, and slide first unseen to Leyden; who will bring him thence to the Queen, and acquaint him with all due respects.

I have written to the Countess of Levistain to cherish him also: a great and affiduous Lady with the Queen, and by Title, my noble Secretary. This is all that I need fay at the present. Doctor Sharpe and I do threaten you the next Christmas. In the mean while.

this Tuefday. 1629.

From the College Your bumble Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Optimo vinorium; and to his most worthy Lady. S.

SIR.

He very truth is, your Love hath prevented me: for I meant by Giovanni to give you some account of what hath paffed fince our Divorcement. When I had flept half an hour after you were gone from Darford, I found my felf fresco come una rasa: but I awaked in a strange Dream, that had seldom before befaln me in an Inn; finding pothing to be paid, not so much as for mine own Horses; whereby the reason was plain of the paleness of my water which you observed: For none of the tincture of my gold was gone into the reckoning of the drink, as you had handled the matter.

At the top of Shooters bill my Foot-man staid, as if he had been watching the Beacon rather than for me; and told me there were good Provisions made at Sir Adam Newtons for you and me, with kind Expectation of us both. But my felf being defirous to reach Eton that night, as I did, (for my Horses I see travel best upon another Man's Purse) I blanched the House, and sent thither by Giovannia, fair excuse. True it is, we are much of a Humor: Cento Bue will hardly draw us in a journey to any

strange place.

At that time likewise Will brought me a Letter from Mr. Griffith, which had been exprelly fent to Gravesend the night before: whereby I faw Giovanni had taken a false alarm; for he was not to be gone till the Monday Morning following: fo as I have had time to ballast him with Letters. And I have infiniated beforehand to your fack Dimly, your purpose to pass over the spiritous Frank as soon as you can trick him. We are now towards the Festival of our Election; wherein annually I make a shift to lose four or five Friends, and yet do my felf no good; fo as they are angry with me on the one fide, and they laugh at me on the other.

I apprehend this year a great poverty of Venison with us: for I came too late to exchange your Warrant; and my Lady Throgmorton's will not ferve my

turn.

Since my coming, Mr. Turvil, a French practical man, of good erudition, hath passed a day or two with me, from whom I hear a shrewd point: That the oath of peace ( which should have been taken between the two neighbouring Kings upon the fame day) is put off for a Month: I believe the stop to be in France, to gain time to diffurb our treaty with Spain.

Mr. Pim (a man whose ears are open ) told me likewise yesterday a strange thing, that the Queen of Bobemia hath newly, being hunting, been chased away her felf with some affrightment from Rhenen by certain Troops of the Enemy that have paffed the Ifel. With whom it was feared the Count Henry Venden Berge would joyn, and ravage the Velow. Yet

withal

withal were come tidings, that the Prince of Orange at the Buss had had parly offered him. But my intelligences are Ciftern-Waters, you are nearer the Fountain. And not only, Dulcius ex ipso Fonce bibuntur Aqua, but verius too: For both will stand in the Verse.

Before I end, let me befeech you, to remember my humble and hearty Devotion (in the very ftyle of Seneca to his Lucilius, and I shall need to say no more) Optimo Virorum. I envy your enjoyments and Conversations, and most when they are privatest, for then they are freest. I hope the Noble Lady will return quickly again to her Hesperian Garden: To whom, I pray, likewise let my humble service be remembred. And so I rest,

From the College this Wednesday night, 1629.

Excepto quod non simul esses, catera latus,
H: WOTTON.

#### To the Queen of Bohemia.

May it please your Majesty.

This Bearer is that Lad, by name Franc Bacon, for whom your Majesty's Intercession with the Prince of Orange, hath bound so many unto you here. It is your goodness that hath done it, and therefore he is addressed by his Friends (and by me who am the meanest of them) first through your Gracious hands, and laid down at your Royal feet.

There is in him (I believe) metal enough to be cast into good form: and I hope it is of the noblest fort, which is ever the most malleable and plians. Only one thing I fear, that coming from a Country

Hh 4

life, into the luftre of Courts, he will be more troubled with it, than with the hiffing of Bullets.

Now when Loonfider (as I do at the prefent) that besides your Majesty's Ancient Favors towards me, and to them that have been, and are fo dear unto me; fome gone, and fome remaining: you have lately received the Child of my very worthy Friend, Mr. Griffith, about the Prince your Son, and honored this other with your especial recommendation. in fuch a forcible and express manner as you were pleased to do it: I say, when I consider all this, I cannot but fall into some pallionate questions with mine own Heart. Shall I die without feeing again my Royal Mistressmy felf? Shall I not rather bring her my most humble thanks, than let them thus drop out of a dull Pen? Shall fuch a contemptible distance, as between Eton and the Hague, divide me from beholding how her Vertues overshine the darkness of her Fortune? I could fpend much Paper in this Patfion, but let it fleep for the prefent: And God bless your Majesty,

August 16.

As I am Yours,

H. WOTTON.

After this humble and just acknowlegement of my Obligations unto your Majesty, it were a miserable thing for me to tell you, that at our late Election, I have remembered your Commandment in the furth place, I should indeed rather ask what your Majesty will have next done.

My noble Nepher,

I Am forry that your Cast of Bucknames cannot be ferved at this Election; For to choose one of them (and that must have been in a low place) hadbeen discomfortable, they will flie best at ease together. Yet I have thought of a way the next year, in all event not to fail; which is, to divide them between Westminster and Etcn. Their Election preceedeth ours fome three Weeks; and truly upon my late Observation there, I must needs say, that School mouldeth good Scholars, and of certainer Preferment to either of the Universities (for some go to Oxford, and fome to Cambridge) than this: out of which the Iffue is always hard, and the entrance not always easie. Glad I am to hear by your Letter, that you have gotten fo good a School-Mafter, that they may be well mued in the mean while. Petwixt this and the next turn, I shall lay you down an infallible course for them. And this must content their good Father at the prefent.

If your Masons Brother (who was here on Sunday) had staid till the next Morning, there was some practicable hope to have sped the Poy this year to Cambridge, but some unfortunate haste, and despair of so many places as fell open, carried him away.

If you had not intimated your own coming to London, you might perchance have been troubled with me in the Countrey: But I will now Languish for the hour you promise this place of seeing you here; where your Venison (which we enjoy by exchange from Master Vice Chamberlain

hath

hath given us all Occasion to remember you thankfully, as a Benefactor to this Board. I will entertain you with no home Novelties; but let me tell you a fresh piece of no small noise from abroad. The King of Sweden hath landed with 200 Ships a great Army of some 40000 in Germany, with intention (if the Party of our Religion be not all drowsie) to redress the common Cause; or at least, to redintegrate his near Kinsman in Meckleburge, consistently, you know, by the Emperor: And the opportunity is fair, while the Austrian power is diverted for the help of Spain into Italy. God bless it, and cherish it as his own business; and in his dear Love I leave you: Ever remaining,

From your College this 27 July, 1620.

Your faithful Servant,
H. WOTTON.

As intricate as a Flea in a bottom of Flax.

Sir, I will write to you at large after our Election, when my Brains are tettled.

Noble Sir, and my most dear Nephew,

WE were for three Weeks together so besieged at your Eton, first with an overslow of water from the West, and then with a deep Snow out of the East, (contrary quarters conspiring against us) that our ordinary Boats, which usually go and return twice a week, could not pass under the Bridges: whereby such a Letter from you as never man received, lay silent at my Cham-

ber

ber in St. Marting-lane till mine own coming to London; to the utter Condemnation of my unthankfulness in the mean time: Which truly I should fear, but that it is the natural property of the same heart, to be a gentle Interpreter, which is so noble an O-

bliger.

Now, Sir, After I had received and read your Letter, I took fome days to deliberate what I should do, and to let my Judgment fettle again, which was diffracted with fo kind a furprizal: should I use a feathered Quill to write unto you; or fly my felf to Redgrave? for you had given me Wings. At last, I resolved upon both. First, to make this true Protestation by writing from my very Bowels where it is Engraven. That though your Bounty (confidered in all the Circumstances, as well the form, as the matter, and the very opportunity of the time wherein it came, and especially without any imaginable pretence of desert in my self) hath been such, as never befel me before, nor can ever befal me again: yet have you therewith not enriched, but ftripped and despited me for ever: Nothing that was before, either in my power or Possession, being after this mine own: for it is all yours, if it were both the Indies. So as your kindness howsoever flowing from a tender Affection: yet is with me like hard Wax, dropped and fealed together.

The next after this, shall be to follow it my felf-but therein (after the Span sh Phrase) I will take Language at the Rolls, where I shall understand more punctually about what time you purpose to be here. For, I aim at the convoying of you up to your Fron. About which I will write more by the next Carrier: and prepare your self (Sir) with

with patience while we live, to be troubled weekly with my Letters; wherefoever I am, even when I shall have no more to fay than this, which is the least that can be spoken, that I am,

Feb. 13. 1632.

Tours,

H. W.

# From St. Martins by the Fields.

this 18. of April. 1633.

To my Noble Nephew long and chearful Tears.

SIR,

BY beginning first with Philosophy, I will discover the Method of my Nature, preferring it be-

fore the Speculations of State.

Take any Vegetable whatsoever, (none excepted in the effect, though some difference in the degree) express the juyce; put that in any vessel of Wood or Stone, with a narrow Neck and Mouth, not closed at the top, but covered with any thing, so as it may work out above: Set it afterwards in some cold hole in a Cellar, let it stand there some three Weeks or a Month, till by Fermentation it have both purged it self upwards, and by sediment downwards, Then decant from it the clear juyce, and put that in a Limbeck in Balneo Maris, or in Balneo Revis. The first that riseth will be Aqua ardens, useful

useful perchance according to the quality of the Plant; as of Wormwood for the Stomach, of Succory, or any of those Incubæ, for the Liver: And on the sides of the Limbeck will hang a Salt; this is the extracting of Salt without Calcination; which otherwise certainly must needs consume all the active powers of any Vegetable, and leave nothing but a palastick and passive Virtue.

For the point of preferving that Salt afterwards from Refolution by Air into Water, I hold it impossible, notwithstanding the proper Examples that you alledge; which yet must of Necessity yield to it. For as your excellent Uncle says, and says well, in not the least of his works (though born after him)

of his Experiments; Air is predatory.

I have forgotten (for memoria primo sensitiv) whether I told you in my last a pretty late experiment in Arthritical pains: It is cheap enough. Take a rosted Turnip (for if you boyl it, it will open the pores and draw too much) apply that in a Poultise to the part effected, with change once in an hour or two, as you find it dryed by the heat of the Flesh, and it will in little time allay the pain.

Thus much in our private way, wherein I dare fwear, if our Medicines were as strong as our wishes,

they would work extreamly.

Now, for the Publick, where peradventure now and then there are Diftempers as well as in natural

Bodies.

The Earl of Holland was on Saturday last (the day after your Posts departure) very solemnly restored at Council-Table (the King present) from a kind of Eclipse, wherein he had stood since the Thursday fortnight before: All considered, the

Obscuration was long, and bred both various and doubtful Discourse; but it ended well. All the cause yet known, was a verbal challenge sent from him by Mr. Henry Germain in this form to the now Lord Western, newly returned from his foreign Imployments, That since he had already given the King an account of his Embassage, he did now expect from him an account of a Letter of his, which he had opened in Paris, and he did expect it at such a time, even in the Spring Garden (close under his Fathers Window,)

with his Sword by his fide.

It is faid (I go no farther in fuch tender points) that my Lord Weston sent him by Mr. Henry Percy (between whom and the faid Lord Weston had in the late journey (as it Rems) been contracted, fuch Friendship as overcame the memory that he was Cousin-German to my Lord of Holland) a very fair and discreet answer: That if he could challenge him for any injury done him before, or after his Embaffage, he would meet him as a Gentleman, with his Sword by his fide where he should appoint. But for any thing that had been done in the time of his Embaffage, he had already given the King an account thereof and thought himself not accountable to any other. This published on Thursday was fortnight, the Earl of Holland was confined to his Chamber in Court, and the next day Morning to his House at Kensington, where he remained without any further Circumstance of restraint or displeasure Saturday and Sunday: on which days being much visited, it was thought fit on Menday to appoint Mr. Dickenson, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be his Guardian thus far, that none without his presence should accost him. This made the vulgar Judgements run high, or rather

ther indeed run low, That he was a loft and difcarded Man, judging as of Patients in Feavers, by the Exasperation of the fits. But the Queen, who was a little obliquely interested in this Business; for in my Lord of Holland's Letter, which was opened, she had one that was not opened, nor fo much (as they fay ) as fuperscribed; and both the Queen's and my Lord of Holland's were inclosed in one from Mr. Walter Mountague (whereof I shall tell you more hereafter.) The Queen I fay, flood nobly by him, and as it feems preffed her own Affront. It is too intricately involved for me fo much as to guess at any particulars. I hear generally discoursed, that the opened dispatch was only in favor (if it might be obtained ) of Monsieur de Chateau Neuf, and the Chevalier de farr; (who had both been here) but written with caution (and furely not without the King's knowledge) to be delivered, if there were hope of any good effect; and perchance not without Order from His Majesty to my Lord Weston afterwards, to stop the faid Letters, upon Advertisement that both Chateau Neuf, and de farr were already in the Bastille. But this I leave at large, as not knowing the depth of the Bufiness.

Upon Monday was seven-night fell out another quarrel, nobly carried (branching from the former) between my Lord Fielding and Mr. Goring, Son and Heir to the Lord of that Name. They had been the Night before at Supper, I know not where, together; where Mr. Goring spake something in diminution of my Lord Westen, which my Lord Fielding told him, it could not become him to suffer, lying by the side of his Sister. Thereupon, these hot hearts appoint a meeting next day morning.

ing, themselves alone, each upon his Horse. They pass by Hide-Park, as a place where they might be parted too foon, and turn into a Lane by Knights. bridge; where having tyed up their Horses at a Hedge or Gate, they got over into a Close; there ftripped into their Shirts, with fingle Rapiers, they fell to an eager Duel, till they were fevered by the Hoft and his Servants of the Inn of the Prince of Orange, who by meer chance had taken some notice of them. In this noble encounter, wherein Blood was fpent, though (by Gods Providence) not much on either fide, there passed between them a very memorable interchange of a piece of courtesie, if that word may have room in this place: Says my Lord Fielding, Mr. Goring, If you leave me here, let me advise you not to go back by Piccadillia Hall. left if mischance befal me, and be suddenly noised (asit falleth out in these Occasions now between us) you might receive fome harm by fome of my Friends that lodge thereabouts.

My Lord (replies Goring) I have no way but one to answer this courtesie: I have here by chance in my pocket a Warrant to pass the Ports out of England, without a Name (gotten, I suppose, upon some other Occasion before,) if you leave me here, take it for your use, and put in your own Name. This is a passage much commended between them, as proceeding both from sweetness aed stoutness of Spirit, which are very compatible. On the solemn day of Saturday last, both this difference and the Original, between the Earl of Holland and the Lord Westen, were fairly reconciled and forgiven by the King, with shaking of hands, and such Symbols of Agreement: And likewise Sir Maurice Dromand, who had before upon an uncivil

rup-

ture on this part, between him and my Lord of Carlifle, been committed to the Tower, was then delivered at the fame time: and so it all ended, as a merry Fellow said, in a Maurice. But whether these be perfect cures, or but skinnings over and Palliations of Court, will appear hereafter: Nay, some say very quickly; for my Lord Weston's Lady, being since brought to bed of a Daughter, men stand in a kind of suspence, whether the Queen will be the God mother after so crude a reconcilement, which by the King's inestimable goodness, I think may pass

in this forgiving week.

For Foreign matter, there is foliatle and fo doubtful, as it were a Misery to trouble you with it. The States confuted Treaty is put to the stock; and the Prince of Orange (by account) gone to the Field two days fince, having broken the business (as they fay) by three demands; the refignment of Breda and Guelder, the difmantling of Rheinberge, and the equality of free exercise of Religion on either side. The States are strong in Arms, weak in Mone owing above fix hundred thousand pounds sterlin, in bare Interest besides the Capital. The Enemy hath neither Money, nor Men, nor Agreement. Arena fine calce; yet I hear (and ex bonis Codicibus) that the States are absolutely resolved to besiege no Town this year, unless it be some such place as may haply fall gently into their lap. They will range with divided Troops.

I will have a care in my Letters to the King's only Sister (for that is now her published style, even in Sermons) so to commend your Frank unto her, (whom she was wont to call, when he went first over, her little Pig) that he may speedily have

a Captain's place.

God blefs him, and blefs your whole name; to which I am fo much tied, both by the alliance of the fweetest Niece that ever man had, and by your own kindness since her departure to Heaven. And so I rest,

Your indissoluble Servant,

## H. WOTTON.

Your Hefter is re-entred jgreen sickness, faulte de je seay quoy.

I pray burn this hafty Letter when you have read

it.

SIR.

If you have (as I remember once you told me) the Will of Sir William Pickering, I pray favour me with a Copy of it for a certain purpose; out of which if I pick any good, you shall be partaker of it.

I have been for the most part fick fince I wrote aft unto you, but am now chearful again.

To my Not'e Nephew many chearful years.

SIR.

T is worth the noting, how commonly the casual firings of Houses in Towns do follow one another; and so (methinks) do the inflammations of spirits in Courts: For after the solemn quenching of our late quarrels, there is fallen out a new, and shrewdly pursued, between Mr. Harbert Price, a Sewer to the Queen, and Mr Elios, Page to the King.

The beginning they fay was upon very fleight occasion: but because a young Lady is an ingredient in the story, I will pass it over. To field they went two days fince upon hot and hafty blood (which fomewhat faves it from a deliberate Duel) both shooting the Bridge in several Boats; yet the matter being before suspected, my Lord Chamberlain fent one Mr. Haies (a Scottish-man, and a good Surgeon, though of late an Ordinary Courtier on the Queens fide) in quest of them : who found them both on the Surry fide, a mile or two below Bridge, closed, and (I hear) on the ground. But Mr. Price already hurt in three places, in one of his fides, in his face, and in three of his fingers: the other is: come off untouched. This Price hath been formerly bred a Souldier, and fometimes (they fay) a Lieutenant in the Low Provinces. Mr. Eliot fearce yet a man in years; but for height and ftrength at his full prime, and in both above the common fcantling. The King is herewith highly offended, fuca ceeding fo freshly upon the late reconcilements; And it is doubted, they will at least lose their places.

The journey to Scotland continueth hotly, and His Majefty removeth House to Theobalds, that way, on Saturday come fortnight. But first must be censured the Bishop of Lincoln for too many words, and the Citizens of London in their undertakings in Ireland for too sew deeds; which I believe will both trench deep. I shall stay long enough in London (not intending to be gone before the Kingsremove) to tell you the event: and truly without your benissient courtesse, I had been wrapt in a strange riddle; for I could neither have staid

nor departed.

I received the Communion in St. Bartholomen's on Sunday last (being Easter-day) in the same Pew with your Hester and her Mother; your Hester either becomes a little tincture of the Green fickness well, or that becomes her well: well she looks, I am fure, and in my fancy draws towards the countenance of her Sifter Stanbop more and more, but stealingly. My Niece Margaret is come home from her Artisan in Southwark, with some pretty amendment. The manner of his cure in those imperfections is somewhat strange; he useth no bindings, but oyls and stroakings; of which I take him to be (in all my reading) both the Instrument and the Author. My Niece Ann will prove one of the handsomest Creatures of the World; being much grown, and having rectified a little fquinting, or oblique look which she had in one of her eyes, fo far as the remainder will turn to a beauty Her Mother hath of late been much troubled (and I think as much in her fancy, which is the greater cure, as in her body) with a pain in her right fide, which changeth place, and therefore is fure but a flatuous infirmity: yet it halteneth her removing to better Air.

From my Lady, my Sister at Canterbury, we hear nothing; I believe she is in travail with her own thoughts, about defacing the inscription of the Tomb, as far as Catholico and Catholica amount unto. And I could wish, as she took your advice in the intention and word upon the Marble, she had done so in the rest: but in that you were no apt Counfellor.

Now for Foreign matters. We have fair tydings from Germany, that the Princes hold fast together, and things go well: and I am of opinion, that when

when those parts have learnt as well as the lower Provinces, to spend a Summer upon the siege of a Town, the War will nestle there as well as below. For they abound in strong places; and War it self

is a great refiner of spirits in little time.

The States are in the Field earlier than heretofore: and in all Judgment it importeth no less, than the countenancing and covering of a general revolt of the geheerten Provinces, as they call them: of that more in my next. And so (Sir) leaving you in our blessed Saviours love, I rest,

From my Lodging in St. Martins-lane by the Fields, April 25.1633. Your Suiscerato servidore,

H. WOTTON.

SIR.

When I have fent you (as I will do by the next Carrier) a new character, I will open my files.

St. Martins-lane by the Fields, June 3. 1633.

To my Noble Nephew, long and chearful years.

SIR,

This other day at the Cock-pit in Shoe-lane (where my felfam rara avis) your Nephew Mr. Robert Bacon came very kindly to me, with whom I was glad to refresh my acquaintance, though I had rather it had been in the Theater of Redgrave.

I asked him of his Brother, your Frank; and he told me he had been so hindered by winds, as he thought he was not yet gotten over: At which I was forry, for he hath lost the Honor of taking

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Rhein-

Rheinberge: He may come yet timely enough to fee Guelders yielded, and after that to have his share in Juliers, which they write from the Camp, will be the next piece; and fo the States will be Masters of all the tract that lies between the Maele and the Rhene, and backed with one of the fattest Provinces of Christendom. Besides, we hear they have recovered their former footing in Brafil, and beaten the Spanish Fleet. It is hard to tay, into what these prosperities will run out: for surely, if they can establish a right correspondency with the upper Armies of Germany, and either both hold out, or neither agree without the other; even this Summer will breed notable effects, and among other I hope, the restitution of the Palatinate; where, as much as the Swede had taken, is offered for 16000. Dollers; whereof the half is paid already by the Duke of Simmern, Administrator to the young Palatine in his minority, and the other moyety is expected from hence. One thing I must not omit to tell you, that the faid young Prince was at the fiege of Rheinberge to initiate him in action. The young Cardinal Infante is come you know to Milan, and they fay will there refide as Governour till he can recover Cafale and Pignerolo, and purge Italy of the French: fo as I believe he will come to Bruxels (for thither he finally tends) in the Spanish pace. Having thus a little skimmed over our Foreign news, give me leave now to entertain you with some Novelties of Art. I fend you herewith two printed Caps, a triangular Salt-celler, and the top of an Amber-Ring. The Caps is a pretty fresh invention of a very easie rate; for they will run shortly at some fix pencea piece: and they fay the fale is monopo. lized by a Woman at Amiterdam; which may come.

to

to some pretty perfection in the ornament of Curtains and Valances of Beds, or in some fine hiftorified Table cloth for a Banquet, or the like. In the invention of the Salt-celler you have an interest your self; for I remember (Sir) you shewed me a whole furniture of Marble Salt-cellers for a Table of your befpeaking: But there is one that hath only gone beyond you in the cheapness of the Material; for this which you now receive is but of Seacoal, and it is strange to see what a polishment fo base a stuff doth take, like the ennobling of a Clown. To the broken Ring there belongs a little more discourse. I bought it for a trifle in Lombard-street long fince, because it had a Fly intombed in the fealing part; which if it had been precifely in the middle, would have shewed like the sculpture of the Signet it felf. Now a while fince by a fall from a Table to the ground, it brake, though in a boarded room: whereupon there fell a conceit into my mind, that the Ring was Artificial Amber, and not Natural; as indeed my Servant Giovanni and I have fince plainly discovered. Now I cannot chuse but smile when I think how much more the first Seller of it might have had from me for the fallhood (if he would have faid fo) than for the truth: For furely many rare things may be made of this composition, and intire insectiles of any greatness, and in any posture be inclosed therein; which I am fure will inflame you, as it hath fet me on fire already to find the way how to clarifie the Pasta, which seems to be of Rosin, and perchance some dust of true Amber. And thus you fee what easie ways I take to please my felf, while I am conversing with you. Let me add to these, a strange thing to be seen in London for a Ii 4 couple

couple of pence, which I know nor whether I should call a piece of Art, or Nature: It is an Englishman like some Swabber of a Ship come from the Indies, where he hath learned to eat Fire as familiarly as ever I saw any eat Cakes, even whole glowing Brands, which he will crash with his teeth, and swallow. I believe he hath been hard famished in the Terra de Fuego, on the South of the

Magellan Strait.

Sir, I have heard (I know not by whom) that you had a purpose to be here this Witsontide; but imagining that at least Mr. Chitock may meet you by the may, I have ventured the trouble of these lines unto you. For mine own estate, I must acquaint you, (because whether well or ill, I am yours) that of late I have been much Troubled with certain splenetick vapours, mounting to the top of my Stomach when it is empty: For which I am in a course of gentle Physick at the present, remembring that of Galen, Ego soleo bortari amicos meos, ut in melancholicis affectionibus abstineant à validioribus remediis. My best Physick will be your company,

To whom there is none bound in truer service than

#### H. WOTTON.

OH my most dear Nephew, (for so I still glory to call you, while Heaven possesseth her who bound us in that Relation) how have I of late, after many vexations of a fastidious infirmity, been at once rent in pieces by hearing that you were at Lindon: What! said 1, and must it be at a time when

when I cannot fly thither to have my wonted part of that conversation, wherein all that know him enjoy such infinite contentment? Thus much did suddenly break loose from the heart that doth truly Honor you. And now (Sir) let me tell you both how it hath gone with me, and how I stand at the present. There is a triple health: health of Body, of Mind, and of Fortune; you shall have a short account of all three.

For the first; it is now almost an whole Cycle of the Sun, fince after certain fits of a Quotidian Fever, I was affailed by that Splenetick Paffion, which a Countrey good Fellow that had been a piece of a Grammarian meant, when he faid he was fick of the Flatus, and the other hard word; for Hipocondriacus fluck in his Teeth: It is the very Protess of all Maladies; shifting into fundry shapes, almost every night a new, and yet still the fame; neither can I hope, that it will end in a folar Period, being fuch a Saturnine Humour; but though the Core and Root of it be remaining. yet the Symptomes (I thank my God) are well allayed: And in general, I have found it of more contumacy than malignity; only fince the late cold weather, there is complicated with it a more Afthmatical straitness of respiration than heretofore: yet those about me say, I bear it well, as perchance cuftom hath taught me; being now familiarized and domesticated evils: In the Tragedians expression, Jam mansueta Mala. And thus much of the habit of my Body. On the other fide, my Mind is in a right Philosophical Eftate of health; that is, at an equal distance both from defire and hope; and ambitious of nothing, but of doing nothing, and of being nothing:

yet I have some Imployment of my thoughts to keep them from mouldring, as you shall know before I close this Letter. But first, touching the third kind of health. My condition or fortune was never better, than in this good Lord Treasurer's time: the very reverse of his proud Predecessor, that made a fcorn of my poverty, and a fport of my modefty; leaving me in bad case; and the world so, as though we now know by what Artshe lived, yet are we ignorant to this hour by what Religion he died, fave only that it could not be good, which was not worthy the professing. This free passage let me commit to your noble breft, remembring that in confidence of the receiver, I have transgreffed a late Council of mine own which I gave to a young friend, who asking me casually of what he should make him a fute, as he was passing this way towards London; I told him that in my opinion, he could not buy a cheaper nor a more lalting stuff there than filence. For I loved him well, and was afraid of a little freedom that I spied in him. And now, Sir, I must needs conclude (or I shall burst) with letting you know, that I have divers things in wild sheets that think and struggle to get out of feveral kinds, fome long promifed, and fome of a newer conception: but a poor exercise of my Pen (wherewith I shall only Honor my felf by the dedication thereof unto your own person) is that which shall lead the way by mine and your good leave, intending (if God yield me his Favor) to Print it before it be long in Oxford, and to fend you thence, or being you a Copy to our Redgrave. What the Subject is you must not know beforehand: for I fear it will want all other grace, if it lose virginity. And fo the Lord of all abundant joy keep you

you long, con quella buona Ciera, which this my Servant did relate unto me,

Who live, at all your commands,

H. WOTTON.

From your College this Ashwednesday, 1637.

Post script.

Mr. Clever, one of the now Fellows of this College, (where have been divers changes fince it had the Honor and the gladness to receive you) being this day returned hither from the Excellent Lord-Keeper, to whom we had addressed him about a business that concerneth us, tells me even at this instant in the account of his journey; That it pleased his good Lordship to enquire of him twice or thrice very graciously touching my health. I beseech you (My Noble Nephew) let his Lordship see, if it please you, this whole Letter (for I dare trust his indulgent goodness, both with my Liberties and with my simplicities) and that will tell him my present Estate: which by making it any part of his care, is for ever at his most humble service.

Noble Sir; above all the most Honored and Loved.

U Pon the receipt of a Letter from you (which came late, and I know not by what misadventure, half drowned, to my hands) with advertisement, that you had been at Sudbury in your patsage

paffage homewards affailed with a Quartan: I refolved immediately to visit you by this Bearer the best of my flights, and lately well acquainted himfelf with farther travellers, who yet hath been kept here after my faid resolution, that he might bring you a full account of the business touching my inviolate Niece fo dear unto us both, which was a part of your foresaid Letter, and wherein I am confident you will receive very fingular contentment out of the very Originals of some, and true Copies of other Letters, which I fend you by this my faid inward fervant; and if he were not fo, I would not have intrusted him with fo tender Papers. The rest of his stay, was only that I might collect among my poor memorials and experiments fomething conducible to the recovery of your health, wherein I reckon my felf as much interessed as in any one thing of this World. I will not fay unto you. Courage, as the French use to speak; for you have enough of that within your felf, Nor, Be merry, in our English phrase (for you can impart enough of that even to others in the incomparable delight of your conversation.) But let me give you two comforts, though needless to the ferenity of your spirits. The first, That I hope your infirmity will not hold you long, because it comes (as I may fpeak, according to the barbarous Translators of Avicenna) In complexionato suo: that is in the very feafon of the revolution of melancholick humours, for Omnis Morbus contra complexionatum Patientis vel Temporis, est periculosus aut longus. The other, That it hath not succeeded any precedent caustick difease, because those Quartans are of all the most obstinate which arise out of the Incineration of a former Ague. The reft I have committed to the inftruinstructions and memory of this Bearer, being himfelf a Student in Physick; and though I dare not yet call him a good Counsellor, yet I affure you, he is a good Relator: with this dispatch I will intermingle no other vulgar subject, but hereafter I will entertain you with as jolly things as I can scamble together. And so, Sir, for the present, commending you into the sweet and comfortable preservation of our dear God, I rest,

From the College Novemb. 6. 1638.

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Your faithful poor Servant,

H. WOTTON.

My Noble, Honored, Loved, ever Remembred, ever Destred Nephew.

I Shall give to morrow morning Matthew Say, our Boat-man, before his going, a shilling, and promise him another at his return to deliver this small packet with his own hands at the Green-Dragen in Bishops gate street, according to the form of your address, not for any value of mine own Papers, but for some things therein contained, which I wish may come safely and quickly to you. And first, I send you your immortal Uncles Confession of his Faith, which I did promise you at Canterbury, solidly and excellently couched, as whatsoever else had the happiness to sall under his Meditation and Pen.

Next; you receive a Letter freshly written me from Cambridge, with mention (God bless us) of a Jesuit of your name: who seems (as all that comes from any of you is piercing) to have fent over lately some pretty infinuative Book in matter of Theological Controversie, perchance better dreffed than any before, and with more relish commended to the vulgar taste, but I believe it will be the fame to the fromach: for well they may change their form, but it is long fince we have heard their fubstance over and over, still the same ad fastidium usque. I shall languish to know how he toucheth upon your Name and flirp. The Name of my Friend who writ me the faid Letter, I have defaced. for the censure of some other things therein, which I should be forry to adventure at large: but you shall know him from me hereafter; and believe

it, he will be worth your knowing.

I cannot forbear to tell you a thing (I know not whether I should call it news, because it is nearer you than to us) but strange in truth, written me from the faid University at the same time by the Provost of Kings College there; between whom and me doth pais much familiar correspondency. It is of a weekly Lesture there performed heretofore by the Person of Mr. Christopher Goad, and lately deposed with severe commandment (as it should feem) from above, whereupon the Women especially by way of revenge for that restraint do flock to St. Maries in such troops, and so early, that the Mafters of Art have no room to fit; fo as the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses were in deliberation to reprefs their shoaling thither. Methinks, it is a good thing, when Zeal in a Land grows fo thick and fo warm. But foft, if I lanch

any farther, I may perchance run (which yet were a great mistake) into the name of a Puritan. For that very Lecturer which is now deposed, did live heretofore with me at my Table upon especial choice: being in truth a man of sweet conversation,

and of fober folidity.

Now, for other things, Nicolas Oudard brought me, the Friday after his departure from you, the glad tidings of your Agues discharge, as you then conceived it would be at the twentieth Access, according (as you feem to have told him) to a common observation with you there: fo as in Suffolk, I fee you count Quartan fits, as you do your Sheep, by the fcore. I could heartily wish you would take for some time after it Alternis Diebus, my preparation of the Lignum Sanctum, with addition likewife of the roots of China, Enula Campana, and a sprig of Tamarifque, all in the decoction of Barley-water, and quickened with a little fprinkling of a Limon: a rare Receipt to corroborate the Vifcera, and to keep the Stomach in Tono. My faid Nicolas tells me likewife, that you began to chirp upon being in London the next Term. I should be glad with your favour to know that point precifely: for having a purpose (by God's dear bleffing) to visit you at Redgrave (which will be the best Cordial I took in long time) I would shape my course circularly, either from Suffolk to Kent, or from Kent to Suffelk, as I shall hear of your motions towards the beginning of next Lent. For novelties of Court and State, all mens minds at the prefent with us feem magnetical, looking towards the North. Order is come down this day to the Juffices of this Shire, about a general muster at Alishury the next week, and for especial watch at

the Beacons; fo as any burning of a bush by chance near one of them, would fet the whole Province in an alarm; but notwithstanding these good providences, we hope well of the Issue; and the rather. for that a pretty strong conceit runneth, that the Deanary of Durham is referred for Doctor Belkan. quel, as a reward of his travels to and fro in this great business. While we are uniting our ceremonious breaches, the Kings of France and Spain abroad treat hard this Winter about a peace, as one writeth. (and I believe very truly) without confideration of any other Prince or State but themselves. If this be fo, and take effect in that manner, then is Charles de Lorain Exutus Lepidus fiript to his shirt, the Count Palatine left at large, and the Swede must stand upon hisown feet. But Brevibus Momentis Summa vertuntur: all depends upon the taking, or not taking of Brifach, the Helena of Germany: and though a Town indeed of great strength and advantage, yet a poor price for fo much blood as hath been loft about it. While I am talking of War, let me tell you what I hear, that your Sir Jacob Afhley is grown a great man at Court in private introducements to the King. together with the Earl Marshal : our good Sovereign will feel a fufficient man quickly. The States lie still and close oppressed with the adversities of the last year; and with nothing more, than the late ruine of forty well laden Ships by the Texel, wherein with deploration of the whole Province were loft one thousand Mariners.

Touching the subject whereof I fent you an account by Nicolas, I have head nothing fince to increase my hope, and much less my faith. You shall have more the next week. Till when and ever our

fweet Jesus have you in his love.

Your Servant alla suiscerata; H. W.

SIR,

Since I concluded this, Mr. Hales (our Bibliotheca ambulans, as I use to call him) came to me by chance, and told me, that the Book of Controversies issued under the name of Bacoms, hath this addition to the said name, alias Sombwell; as those of that Society shift their names as often as their shirts: And he says it is a very poor thing, only graced with a little method.

From your College Decemb. 5. 1638.

SIR,

A Fier the rest of your trouble, at the present their remaineth a proposition to be consulted with you; about which I should esteem the charge of an express Mefsenger not ill expended, though you were at Jerusalem. And both Mr. Harison and my self think no man living more proper to folve it than our Sir Edmund Bacon. The Question is this, whether there may not be found some natural Philosophical way to determine the measure of a minute, or quarter, or balf, or intire bour, or any portion of time more precisely and uniformly, and infallibly than bath been yet invented by any Mechanical and Artificial motion? And particularly, whether it may not be done by the descent of drops through a Filser, either in Manica Hippocratis, or in a Tongue of Cloth equally thick, with consideration likewise of all circumstances in that liquid substance which must fink through it. If this may be done, there will be a mighty point obtained in the restifying of the Longstudes of the Earth, which depend upon the thoment of the Lunar Eclipses; and Mose, upon the exact determination of the beginning and ending of an hour: for which purpose the great Tycho Brache composed divers Horologies, and Hour-glasses, some running with simple Water, some with distilled Spirits, some with pulverized Metals, and some with crude Mercury; but never to any infallible satisfaction of the point propounded: which likewise would be of singular use in divers Astronomical Observations, if it could be once justly regulated. This we commend to your curious Judgement. My Servant Nicholas and I hope to send you some good Flints to be Agatized by your miraculous invention.

I pray, Sir, if you have any of those Island stones which you mentioned unto me at Canterbury, bestow a few upon me. But above all, forget not to let me know where you will be about the beginning of

Lent.

Iterum & Iterum vale.

A late Letter written towards the end of Lent, by Sir Henry Wotton Provost of his Majestie's College at Eaton.

To the Right worthy his ever truly Honored, Sir Edmund Bacon Knight and Baronet, touching the loss of Friends, and final resignation of our selves.

SIR,

A LL the faculties of my mind (if they had ever been of any value) and all the strength of my Body, must yield to the seignory and soveraignty

of time over us: But the last thing that will die, or decay in me, is the remembrance, how amidst that inestimable contentment which I enjoyned (as all others do) in the benefit and pleasure of your Conversation (being then with you at Redgrave in Suffolk, both your delightful Mansion and Philofophical retreat, where you are best, because there you are most your felf, though every where well imparted to your Friends) I was then furprized with an Advertisement from Court, of the death of Sir Albertus Morton, my dear Nephew, in the vernality (as I may term it) of his employments and Fortunes under the best King and Master of the World. And how no great time after (as advertities are feldom folitary) there fucceeded in the fame place the departure of my no less dear Niece, your long, and I dare fay, your still beloved Confort (for Love and Life are not conterminable) as well appeareth by your many tender expressions of that disjuncture, and by that Monument of your own excellent invention which you have raifed to her memory.

This (Sir) ever freshly bleeding in me, and withal revolving often in my retired thoughts, how I have long since over-lived my loving Parents, all mine Uncles, Brothers and Sisters, besides many of mine especial Friends and Companions of my youth, who have melted away before me, and that I am now my felf arrived near those years which lie in the Suburbs of Oblivion, being the sole Masculine Branch of my good Fathers House in the County of Kent: So as that poor Name Reputation which my Ancestors have heretofore sustained by God's permission, must expire and vanish in my unworthiness: I say (Sir) again and again,

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debating often these Circumstances with my self (and truly not without the common weakneffes and paffions of humanity, from which I am of all men least exempted) an extreme defire did lately affail me to entertain between my other Private Studies, some such discourse as might work upon mine own mind, and at least abstract a while, if not elevate my cogitations above all earthly objects. Whereupon, towards the end of this laft Lent (a time of contracted thoughts I fell to think of that Theme, which I have now entituled, the loss of Friends, and final Refignation of our felves. Intending, though it be the highest and uttermost point of Christian Philosophy, to familiarize it between us as much as I can, and to address it in form of a Letter to your felf. For, with whom can I treat of this matter more properly, being both of us almost precifely of equal age, and by the love which you are pleafed to bear me, all Joy in the Fruition, and all Grief in the Privation of Friends common between us.

Now Sir, &c.

### My dearly and worthily ever Honored Nephew,

This is that Saturnine time of the year which most moselfteth such splenetick Bodies (as mine is) by the revolution of melancholick blood, which throweth up fastidious sumes into the head, where-of I have had of late my share: Howsoever, this trusty Fellow of our Town being hired by one about some business to Cambridge (as he is often hither and thither) and acquainting me commonly with his motions, I have gladly stretched his prefent

fent journey as far as the Redgrave: hoping by him to have an absolute account of your well being, which Nicholas my Servant left in a fair disposition.

Let me therefore by this opportunity entertain you with fome of our newest things; but briefly,

for I dare not truft my brains too much.

First, for the affairs of Scotland: Est bene non potuit dicere, dixit, Erit, The wisest Physicians of State are of opinion that the Crisis is good; and I hope your Sir Jacob Albley, and my Sir Thomas Morton, will have a fine employment upon the borders; Honour by the choice of their persons, money by their journal pay, little pains, and no danger. Our Court mourneth this whole Festival with fad frugality for the untimely death of the young Duke of Savoy, our Queens Nephew, haflened they fay by the Cardinal his Uncle, who would first have illegitimated him, and that not taking effect by the supportment of Spain, he fell to other Roman Arts; so as the faid Cardinal to decline this black report, is gone a wandring, and, as it is thought, will visit bare-foot the Holy Land. In the mean time, methinks I fee him with a crew of Banditi and Bravi in his company, and his own Conscience a continual Hangman about him. The Queen Mother stirreth little between Majesty and Age: She hath published a short Manif sto, touching the reasons of her recess from Bruxels, wherein is one very notable conceit: That the had leng born filently the affronts done ber by the Prince, Cardinals, Councellors, and under Officers, upon no other reason, than the very shame to have received them. Of himself she speaketh with good respect, but I know not how the Character of humility ( which she giveth him) will

will be digested: for perchance he had rather have been painted like a Lion than a Lamb. Our Queens Delivery approacheth, in a good hour be it spo-There is newly fworn her Servant, alovely Daughter of Sir Richard Harifons, our Neighbour in Barkshire, to answer Madamoiselle Darci on her Mothers fide. The Count Palatine fince his late defeat, is gotten in disguised habit to Hamborough. and as they fay, hath been there visited by the King of Denmark, amidst that cold Assembly of Ambasfadors: But in his paffage between the faid Town and Bremen, was like to have been taken by ambush of Free booters, who no doubt would have made fale of him. Certain it is, that his Brother Prince Rupert fought very nobly before he yielded; whereof fuch notice was taken, even by the Count of Hatfield himself, that he hath ever since been kept by him in a strong place, rounded day and night with a guard of naked Swords; yet in the Tablets of one that had leave to vifit him, the Prince made a shift to comfort the Queen his Mother with a line or two to this fence: That what soever became of himself, he would never change his Keligion, nor bes Party. We hear my Lord Craven hath made his Composition under 20000 L. As for Feerents, I believe his own head must ransom him, or his Heels. The Popes Treaty at Colen goes Il passo del Gambaro, rather backward then forward. And all deliberatives of State feem to depend much upon the event of Brifach, which I use to call the German Helena, long woed, but for ought I hear yet, an Imperial Virgin. These are our foreign Rapsodies: I will end in somewhat nearer us. You receive herewith the Copy of my last or second Letter to Mr. Cary Raleigh, and his answer thereunto. Pelieve

affected

Believe it, Sir, (whatfoever conceit his actions shall breed) that he is a Gentleman of dextrous obilities. well appearing in the management of a bufiness for tender and delicate, as that which now runneth between us, which for my part I resolve to press no farther: For (to depose my mind as plainly as I may fafely in your breaft) I never could observe any great good effect to enfue upon violent diffwafions in businesses of this Nature, but rather an obduration than an abversion: Howsoever, I would fain (as the occasion suggesteth) propound unto your Judgment a pretty Moral doubt, Super total materia, which I have heard discussed, and resolved affirmatively among fome skilful Humorists, who knew the World well. The Question was this. Whether in such a case precisely as ours of meer scandal, without apparent truth, some inclining to think the worst, and some the best, there be left room for any middle imagination between good and ill? In the folution of which point, I will crave pardon to referve a fecret till we meet, at which I believe you will fmile.

We are here (God be bleffed) all well: Our Audit ended a little before Christmas-day, more troublesome than fruitful, after the fashion. The same Officers as the year before, every man of them your Servant, or otherwise they had wanted my voice. Mr. Harison hath been of lare somewhat more than heretosore trouble with certain Nephritical fits; but they are transient and light, Et jam manssueta mala. Mr. Powel speaketh of you with much devotion, as all other whom you have once touched with your Magnetical vertue. In the Conclusion let me, as with a Box of Marmalade, close up your stomach with one of the Genialest pieces that I have read in my life-time, of the same un-

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affected and discheveled kind, (as I may term it) fent me newly from London; which if you have feen before, I am out of countenance. And so (Sir) wishing you (for I cannot wish you better on earth) after the sweet apprehension of God's continual Favor, the Fruition of your self: I rest, at what distance soever,

From the College on the Eve of the New year, through which God fend you a bleffed pafiage, and many more. Your unseparable Servant,

'H. WOTTON.

## \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

# ADDITIONAL LETTERS

TO

## SEVERAL PERSONS:

Now first Published from the Author's own Copies.

King James to Sir Henry Wotton, 1616.

To Our Right trusty and well beloved Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, Our Ambassador Resident with the State of Venice.

Fames R.

Ight trusty and well beloved, We greet your well. Whereas many of the Gentry, and others of Our Kingdoms, under pretence of Travel for their experience, do pass the Alpes, and not themselves to remain in Lombardy or Tuscany, to gain the language there, do daily flock to Rome, out of vanity and curiosity to see the Antiqui-

tiquities of that City; Where falling into the company of Priefts and Jesuites, or other ill disposed persons, they are not only corrupted with their Doctrine, but poysoned with their Positions, and fo return again into their Countrys, both averse to Religion, and ill-affected to Our State and Government. Forasmuch as we cannot think upon any better means to prevent that inconvenience hereafter, then by imposing the care of that business in part upon you: These are therefore to require you, to take notice with diligence of all fuch. as by the way of Venice shall bend their courses this ther, and to admonish them, as from Us, that they should not prefume to go beyond the bounds of the Dukedom of Florence, upon any occasion whatsoever. After which advice of yours given unto them, if any Subject of Ours, of what degree or condition foever, shall be either fo much forgetful of the duty he doth owe to Us, or so little respective of his own good, as to press further, to the breach of Our Commandment delivered them by you; Our Will and Pleasure is, that you should forthwith acquaint us with the Names of the Persons, who shall so miscarry themselves, that upon notice thereof from you, We may take such further order with them, for the redress of this mischief, as to Our Wisdom shall feem good.

Given under Our Signet at Newmarket, the seventh day of December, in the Fourteenth year of Our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the Fistieth, 1616.

#### [Venice, 1618.]

My most Honored Lord and Patron,

MY humble fuit unto your Lordship is this:
It is His Majestie's usual Grace, to yield His Foreign Servants the comfort of His Gracious sight once in three years, as this Republick doth likewise recal their Ministers, which Term by my Privy-Seal will end on the first day of February next.

I do therefore humbly beg, that by your Lordfhips interceffion, I may have leave to return home for a Month or fix Weeks, concurring two urgent oc-

casions.

The one, for the pursuit of a business depending on a Patent long since granted to Sir Edward Dymock and me, whereunto I am summoned by His Majestie's Attorney, as will appear unto your Lordship by the Copy of the said Attorneys Letter, (coming herewith) written to my Brother Sir fames Wotton, my Feossee in trust; wherein my presence is necessary, by reason of some differences between the said Sir Edward Dymock and me. And this is a Case wherein we are to maintain His Majesties Title, as hath been endeavored, with our own moneys hitherto unfruitfully spent.

The other, for the re-ordering of my Exchanges, which have been much incommodated by the failing of Seignor Burlamachie's credit here, (though it fland well in other places) by a trick that was played

him.

While I shall be at home, I will challenge nothing from His Majestie's Exchequer, though perchance I shall bring some Observations, not altogether

gether unprofitable, as a publick Inftrument. I will likewise neither trouble His Majesty as the Fountain, nor your Lordship as the Means, with any private suit, in the way of mine own Fortune. For by His Royal Goodness, and by your favorable mediation, I am already abundantly satisfied in some Expectatives, (as marks of His Grace, and of your Patronage) which have not only exceeded my merits, but even quieted mine appetites. Only thus much I humbly crave, That by His Majestie's roleration of my weaknesses, I may still retain this charge, and live upon his service, without farther burden unto him, because I see no man hasty at home, to die for my benefit.

# 1619.

A Report of my Negotiaton in Germany, and of Jome Particularities occurring in my Journey.

To my most Gracious Soveraign and Master.

I Came to Munichen, the Court of Bavaria, in the evening before the Feast of Corpus Christi, and in my company, the Duke foachimus Ernestus of Holstein, who since the ceasing of Arms in Friuli, had lived with me at Venice: which I mention as a duty, having been recommended unto me, and to that State, by Your Majestie's special Letters, and in truth likewise by his own worthy dispositions. Here we thought only to have stolen a sight, in some private window, of the Procession the next day, where we were told the Princes and whole

Court would be: But in the morning we were prevented by the Duke Maximilian, who having gotten knowledge of our qualities, fent a Baron of his Bed-Chamber with Coaches to conduct us to the Court; which gracious furprisal we could not civilly refult. At the Court we were placed, by the Dukes own appointment, in a Gallery; where when we faw a more folemn and fober Procession, than I had beheld even at Rome, under the Popes eyes; as perhaps, all fuperfition is loofest at the Fountain. In this Proceffion, a little after the Duke and his Brother Albertus, went two young Sons of one of them, that were thrown out of the window at Prage, who fince then have been foffered in Bavaria: And from hence we took our first judgement of the affections of that Court. I cannot omit, that at this Solemnity were two Jesuites; who otherwise in Italy do studiously decline the familiarity of fuch publick appearances, for perfervation of refpect: At which when I did express some wonder, I was told between jeft and earnest, that indeed the greater Fathers were more referved of their prefence. but these were only like Ushers over the Seminary Boys, to keep them in awe at this Shew.

This done, the Duke of Holftein and my felf were led and lodged in feveral Quarters of the Palace: and before Dinner, the Duke Maximilian (though tired with walking) fent fingly for me, and paffed with me more than an hour in private and free difcourfe: Falling into it, with as ferious protestation as mine ears ever heard, that though he was bred in the Roman Faith, yet no Prince living did more Honor and Reverence the great Vertues, and eminent Wisdom of the King my Master, to whom

he had the Honor to be allied, both by marriage and by his own descent; and therefore should have thought it a difference for him, to let me go that way, without offering me, after I had passed the Alpes, a little commodity of repose in that poor House: as he was pleased to term it; being otherwife one of the most capable, magnificent, and regular Fabricks of Christendom; and all of his own device and erection in five years. He told me befides, how fensible he was of the Honor which the Count Palatine had done him with a personal furprisal; and how ashamed, that the times had not ver permitted him to revenge that favor, which he had vowed to do with the first opportunity: And the rather, that he might invite Your Majestie's most vertuous Daughter (who hath filled these Countrys with her excellent fame) to come and take possession in Bavaria of her Woods and Fields, and to kill all there that had either wings or feet. This was the Complemental part of his Speech. In the rest, he bewailed the present appearance of unquietness in the Empire: He lamented likewise the fituation of his own State, which made it hard for him to preferve himself neutral, though he had studied it. He spake of Ferdinando's Person, kindly; of his Fortune, doubtfully; of the Bobemians, with a cool temper, rather censuring the form of their proceeding, than the cause; of himfelf, with fingular moderation, and without the least discovery of any ambitious affections, though we found his Courtiers warm enough in their hopes.

After Dinner, he fent for the Duke of Holftein: And then came himself with his whole train to visit me on that side where I was placed, (an Honor

done

done feldom before, as I heard, to any Ambassa-Jor) where he spent with me about half an hour, with new affirmations of his reverent respect towards Your Majesty: As likewise, the morning following; when, with much ado, we got leave to be gone. Which Noble Language he afterwards (as not contented with a verbal profession) did prosecute in a Letter that I received from him on the way, which I reserve to be shewn Your Majesty.

This was my entertainment in the Bavarian Court, by a Prince (I am bound to fay) every way good, but in that wherein he should be best : of Noble manner in his hospitality; of sharp conceit, of great erudition; and both orderly and lovingly ferved. Which Circumstances I have thought it my part to fet down the more particularly, for that, I am certainly informed of much jealousie both taken and expressed by the Pope, at the Count Palatine's reception in that Court; and more, for a Book written by his Chancellor, and published by the Duke's direct Command, (prefixed in the front thereof) in defence of Ludovicus, the Bavarian excommunicated Emperor: Which things confidered, make his kindness to Your Majestie's Servant, and professions towards Your Royal Person, more notable. Now to proceed:

At Augusta I took language, that the Princes and States of the Union had deferred their Assembly ten days: which gave me opportunity to find them together at Heilbrun, whom I should have missed at their own homes. And for due respect, I gave the Count Palatine notice of my intent to be there, by a Gentleman expressly sent. Of what I did in Augusta for Your Majesties service, I bring

with

with me the Accompt. Being arrived at Heilbrun the day after the first fitting of the Princes, I repaired immediately to the Count Palatine, as Director, not only of the Union; but likewise of me; (for fo I told him was Your Majestie's Will:) who after he had spoken with his Associates, did order the form of my proceeding in this manner: With himself, I was to treat in Individuo, both for respect of privacy, being Your Majeltie's Son-in-Law, and of Dignity, being then Provisor of the Empire. as his right style is, and not Vicar. To the four Princes, I went joyntly; they agreeing upon a Room where they would affemble, and fending for me their Coaches and Courtiers; namely, the Marquels of Anspach, ( who hath the precedency, as an Electoral branch) the Duke of Wirtemberg. the Marquess of Baden, and the Prince Christianus of Anhalt, respondent for his own House: The Landgrave Maurice of Halfia was not there, but voiced to be fick. The Marquess of Brandenburg was out of the Empire in Prussia, and his Son in the Low Provinces. The Representants of the three United Cities, Nurenburg, Strasburg, and Ulm, (which direct the meaner Towns) were to come all joyntly (as they did) to my Lodging. The Count Palatine met me at the Stair head; and did render me the visitation where I lay, in person: The Princes came all joyntly down into the very Street, to take me from my Coach; and in like manner brought me down again unto it; and did afterwards vifit me all together: The Marques of Anspach then presenting unto me their Answer in writing, with all due commemoration of their obligations to Your Majesty. The Representants of the Cities did present their Answer verbally at my Lodg-

Lodging by the Syndie of Strasburg, with no less Zeal and Devotion than the Princes had done. And this was the formal part, full of all just respect that could be expressed in that place. Now touching the real part : When I had conferred with the Count Palatine, your Majesties scope in the main business, I found him in truth for himfelf exceeding forward; but for the other Princes and Towns he objected two difficulties: The one was, the present distractions of Germany, which made the Proposition somewhat unfeafonable. The other was, the differences between our Church and those of the Augustine Confession: which though but few ver perchance might a little hinder their concurrence with us in this excellent work: especially the Lutheran Princes, being likely to do nothing without countel of their Ministers. and they being the passionatest Men amongst them. These two objections considered, it was thought six by the Count Palatine, (into whose hands I had delivered my felf) after deliberation with his own Counfellors, that I should at this time only dispose the other Princes, and Representants of Cities, in your Majesties Name, towards a concurrence, with apt lenitives and probabilities; and that I should endeavor, by your Majelties Christian perswasion, to remove all asperity that might impeach it, leaving a more particular profecution thereof till the noise of the Empire were fettled: in which mean while, many things might be further thought on to advance this purpose, and be conferred afterwards by Letters.

Hereupon I framed my Speech to the Princes in

the manner following.

I told them, that I brought thither two forts of Commissions, The one from the Duke and Se-

nate of Venice, sub fide tacita, which I presented in writing, containing a profession of much good will from that State towards them, and a clear inclination to a straighter correspondence with them: In contemplation of whom, the Republick had refolved not to permit the transport of any fuccours cross their Gulf into Austria, for the further troubling of Germany. This was the substance of that I brought under filent confidence, without any other credit than mine own honefly might bear; which had been delivered unto me by Order of Senate, whom I acquainted thus far, that I would take home-wards the way of Germany. Wherein I craved from the Princes and the rest some taste of their inclinations, that these fair offers might be farther prosecuted by your Majesties Mediation, whom I knew much to defire the further strengthning of this Body with good Amities.

My other Commission was (as I said) from mine own Royal Master, from whom I brought Letters of his confidence unto them; after presentation whereof, and all other due premises, I told them,

That your Majelty having long and deeply confidered the corruptions that have grown in your own Kingdoms, and in the States of your Confederates and Friends, by the fecret practices of Jefuits, did finally observe but one only cause of this creeping mischief, and but one only Remedy; which you had thought meet to communicate with them by an express though a covered Legation, under the colour of my return homewards. The cause of the said evils was, that we had left the Pope at too much ease in his own Provinces; the Remedy would be, to cut him out so much work

at home, as should force him to gather his thoughts about himself, and in conclusion to revoke his Emissaries for the maintaining of *Italy*. To do this, there were but four means:

1. By the advantage of Arms in time of Action,

2. By open Preaching.
3. By difperfion of Books.
4. By fecret Semination.

For the First, it was true, that the late necessity and calling French (among whom there were many of our Religion) into Piedment, and the Dutch, Flemish, and English into Frink, had done some good by freedom of conversation, all Inquisition ceasing at such times: But this violent way must be left to further occasion.

For the Second, although there had been for one whole Lent publick Preaching against the Roman Doctrine in Venice; yet that Liberty and the Popes Excommunication did cease together, and must so

abide till new opportunity.

For the Third, I acquainted them how greedy the Italians were of our Treatifes in matter of Controversie, and of divers ways that had been used both to excite, and to satisfie that curiosity, both by the works of the Arch-bishop of Spalato, since his retirement into your Majesties protection; and of a Discourse that was ready to come abroad, wherein should be discovered by a great Intelligent man, even of their own breeding, all the Practices of the Councel of Trent, out of the Original Registers and Secret Papers; wherein your Majesty had a hand, for the benefit of the Christian World.

For the Fourth and Last way, of secret Semination, wherein we had been hitherto wholly defi-L 1 2 cient cient and afleep: This I faid was the particular foope

of my present Charge.

In this your Majesty did exhort them by all fervent persuasion to joyn with you their Coursels and Cares, their diligence and Powers according to such ways as should be hereaster propounded either by your Majesty to them, or conceived amongst themselves. Whereunto your Majesty had been stirred, first by the Zeal of Gods glory; next, by a Religious shame and indignation, to see Superstition more active than the truth: Thirdly, by the instance of divers well-assected Persons, both within the Body of Baly, and in the Consines thereof. And lastly, by the opportunity which the present time it self did yield unto it: which I did particularly remonstrate unto them; but being matter of secrecy, I will keep it in my pen till I arrive with your Majesty.

After which, I concluded with your Majesties most loving and Christian Perswasions unto them (which they could not refuse, coming from such a Friend) to lay aside our own small differences, to suppress the heat of passionate Divines by Civil Authority, and to joyn together against the common Advert

fary of our Churches and States.

And because the free passage into Italy was a point much importing the present purpose, as likewise in other respects very considerable, Your Majesty did intreat them to spend their earnest intercession by a common Letter to the Cantons of Zwick and Bern, That they would endeavor by all means possible (as being incomparably the sittest Mediators) to re-establish the League between the Venetians and the Grisons; to which both parties were well inclining, but there wanted a third

to break the Business, and to remove the scruple of, Who shall begin? which had hitherto hindred the effect.

This was my poor Exposition of your Commands: whereof I thought it my Duty to render your Majesty this preambulatory Accompt, for Your ease at mine arrival, and for mine own Discharge: bringing with me, the Letters and Answers of the Princes, as I hope, to Your Majesties full contentment.

I will conclude with my most humble thanks unto your Royal goodness, for this Imployment above all other: And with my prayers to God, that the weakness of the Instrument, may not prejudice the excellent Intention of the Master and Director.

#### 1620.

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Servant Henry Wotton Knight, at his imployment about the Assairs of Germany, to the Emperor Ferdinand, to Our Dear Son-in-J AMES.

Law Frederick the Prince Elector, and Count Palatine of Rhene, &c. to the Princes of the Union in Body, or to their Sub-Director in place of Our said Son-in-Law: And to other Princes and States, as the Duke of Saxony, Bavaria; and upon Occasion, as his particular Letters of Credence shall direct him.

You are to know, that this your Imployment is, for the present, meerly exploratory and provisional, to give us a clear and distinct Accompt of L12 the

the present Affairs, both how they stand at your arrival there, (being every day changeable) and how they incline in the future; and particularly, to found the affections, and the matter, how far they be capable of any reasonable measure of agreement; that from thence We may take judgment, whether it shall be fit for Us to add any others unto you in a main Treaty, with fafety of Our Honor, and benefit of the Cause; or to fend others in your room, and to release you from that business, to your Ordinary Residence at Venice. Wherein We are contented to defer thus much to your discretion, That if you shall find things desperate, and the Emperors Party abfolutely victorious, you may then, after a Courier dispatched unto Us with Advertisement of all circumftances, take your way to Venice: If, otherwise, you shall find the Forces on both sides to fland within fuch terms of equality, as the event is like in probability to continue dubious, and uncertain, you shall then attend the Issue, till the blow shall be strucken; and upon all important variations of occurrences, you shall signifie the same unto Us.

2. According to this scope of your imployment; you shall hold with all those Princes, from the highest to the meanest, and from those that are most remote in respect, to those that are nearest unto Us in nature and Alliance, the same language; affuring them all, that We constantly continue in Our own Principles, that is, in first desiring the quiet of Christendom, and particularly of those parts, by all possible means, wherein We have formerly expressed by a noble Ambassage of one of Our nearest Servants, before Our Brother the French King did enter into it, and before Our Selves

Selves shall be drawn to any other resolution, which We thought meet to make publickly know, both by Our said former Ambassador, the Vicount Doncaster, and now by you; leaving the rest to God and time.

3. Touching your Address, First or Second, to one part or other, We leave it to your discretion upon the place, when you have consulted with the Princes of the Union in general, or with their Subdirector for the time, whither you may best direct your felf; whom you shall pray in our Name to affist you therein with their best advice: as likewise in all things else concerning the present Affairs: That after this exploration of the business, being much altered since our first Ambassage, We may know what it shall be fit for Us further to direct.

4. Whereas We are informed, that the Ambassadors of Our Brother, the French King, have Instructions to propound two things, 1. A Surceasance of Arms, 2. An Imperial Diet; you shall signifie, that in the first of these motions We mainly concur with Him; and in the other, so far as by the directions of Our dear Son-in-Law you shall sind convenient for

the publick good, and His own.

5. Touching the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and any other Prince not comprised within the Union, you shall desire them heartily in Our Name to joyn with Us for the common tranquillity, that things may not pass to a further irritation of those Princes and States, and particularly of Our Selves, which otherwise profess Pacifical and Christian ends: fortifying your exhortation therein with the best reasons that you can collect out of the present Assaus, as they shall appear unto you.

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6. To all Princes whom it may any way concern, you shall make it known, that in the Election of our Sor-in-Law to the Crown of Bobenia, We had no part by any precedent Councel or practice; which we affirm in the faith and truth of a Christian Prince; And are likewise informed of his own clearness therein, by vehement Affirmations, and by most probable Circumstances.

A Copy of my Dispatch to the King, from Vienna, Septemb. 7. 1620.

May it please my most Gracious Soveraign,

F Your Majesty, since my last Accompt from Augusta, of what I had handled with the Duke of Lorgin; and Wirtenburg, with the Arch-duke Leopold, and with the Communities of Strasburg and Ulm; shall have expected to hear before now. what I do in this place, the Obligation of Your own goodness, and bounties towards me, besides the Confeience of my charge and duty, may in the mean while have assured Your Majesty, that no diligence or fidelity on my part hath been wanting in the pursuit of your Commands and Christian ends, as I hope shall appear by this Dispatch: Wherein first, It may please your Majesty to understand, that I have been ten days here in Vienna, after I had been four whole days flayed by the Emperor at Cloyfter-Nyberg on the Danaby, not above a Dutch mile or little more from this Town, whilft a House, and all other things were preparing for my reception: Which courfe was likewise held with the French Ambassadors in the same measure. Dur ing During which time of my ftay, the Emperor sent me some Provisions, and withal the young Baron of Harach to conduct me hither, and here continually to assist me, for procurement of my Audiences, or any other Conveniences, being a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, twice heretofore employed in foreign Ambassages, Son in-Law to the Count Echemberg, the Emperors Favorite, and Son to the next of his Counsellors in grace and credit; though the young Baron of Mersberg, Captain of his Guard, was sent to the French, yet I perceive in the choice of this other Gentleman, an equality of

respect towards your Majesty was used.

An hour after my arrival here, he fent to bid me welcome the Count of Mecan, heretofore Lord Chamberlain to the Emperor Matthias, and a Counsellor to this, in tertis quartifive. I am placed near to the Court, in the House of the Baron de Gabriana with rich furniture and good attendance, and hitherto at the Emperors Charge, which within a while must cease, of which I have given the Reason in my Letter to Mr. Secretary Nanton. In the mean time I must profess unto your Majesty, that no Circumstance of due regard to the Honour of your Name hath been here omitted, but all done with unexpected freedom: infomuch as to accompany me at my Table, are fent and admitted Gentlemen of both Religions, and of the best degree, which in the meaner Courts of Germany I have noted to pass with more restraint. Thus much concerning my Reception, which is the formal part.

Now before I pass unto the material, it is a piece of curiosity to tell unto your Majesty, what discords I here find amongst the publick Instru-

ments, which feem fomewhat confiderable: The French Ambassadours have been here about seven weeks, and to this hour are unvisited by the Spanish (though close adjoyning them) upon a meagre punctuality; for thus it standeth, The French arrived on the Monday at night; the Spaniard, fent immediately to welcom them his Secretary, ex forma. They have Audience the next morning following: That passed, the Count Ognate demands leave to visit them in the afternoon; They desire to be excused, being a day of Ordinary dispatch. The excuse is accepted; but because they did not afterwards, without a fecond demand, fend him word that they would be at leifure, incrassatus est sanguis, on the Spanish side. A much deeper and incurable case is fallen out betwixt the French and the Extraordinary Ambassador of Parma, who, after the French fent first unto him, as they fay, (though he affirms it was the Spaniard) did yet visit the Spamiard before them belike, according to the method of his Devotion, and proximity to his Master, or of Authority in this Court: howfoever, hereupon the Duke of Angole me affigned the same Ambassadour a day to visit him, and when he came alla bucna, he shut his Gates upon him: Which is here generally the worse interpreted, because he is a Bishop, seeming an affront to both his qualifications. In fuch a touchy time as this, I had almost had my share; to whom, after the three French Amhaffadors had fent their three Secretaries (for prevention of the Spaniard) as far as Cloyster Newberg. where I made my ftop: they were likewise the first here that sent to visit me, but came all three together, and with them Monsieur de Beaugie the Ordinary Agent: Whereupon fell a little disputation

tation between us, Whether visits of respect between Representants of equality, being received in specie, should be paid in individuo? which seemed unto me no good complemental Logick: but finding afterwards, first, that their Commissions were the fame; then, that the Emperor had fent to their feveral Lodgings; and the Popes Nuncio, though visited in gross, had visited them apart. I made an end of this fcruple: yet not before a promise, that if your Majesty should fend more Ambassadors hither, they will proceed a la pereille with them: having gained thus much by this small debate, that perchance they think me not over-punctual, nor altogether fupine. I have likewise received and rendered to the Spanish Ambassador all due formalities, and from all other Ambassadors and Agents, except the Popes, and the Duke of Parma's, whose habits make us incommiscible. Of the rest I need not speak at all; of the French and Spanish I will prefume to speak my opinion, as far as may conduce to the main. I find the French furely of good intention towards a peace here, but not hafty either to believe in truth that the Crowns of Hungaria or Bohemia were Hereditary. Here, at their first coming, they had more credit (as I receive from a good hand) than they feem to have now; which is thought to proceed from the Spanish Ambaffador, who in this Court is not only the Supream Councellor, but hath in truth a Distatoriam potestatem, as the French find; the reason being not very obscure: for when I put in the major, that the Emperors resolutions depend upon necessities; and in the miner, that his necessities depend upon Spain, I think I may spare the conclusion. Thus thand the publick Ministers here, and thus they fland

fland one with another; which I thought fit to fet down, because it hath some Influence into the gene-

ral business.

Now to proceed to the scope of my employment in matter of substance, I had audience of the Emperor (as the French) the second day after my arrival, where what I said, will best appear to your Majesty out of the Memorial, which I afterwards sent unto him, at his own Requisition, here following word for word, as I have translated it out of the Italian, in which Language the Emperor treateth most willingly.

The Proposition of Henry Wotton Knight, Amhassador Extraordinary from his Majesty of Great Britain, delivered in the Name of his Soveraign Lord the King with all real intention to his Sacred Imperial Majesty, the 23 of August, stylo vet. did contain four points:

First, That his Imperial Majesty would be pleased to make known his Inclination towards a sincere

Treaty upon the present Motions.

Secondly, That it will please him by one or two, or more, to inform the said Ambassador of all the fundamental Arguments in the merit of the Cause, which shall be most faithfully represented by him to

the King his Master.

Thirdly, Either his Imperial Majesty will refuse, or agree to enter into Treaty: In the first Case, It were vain for Representants of Princes of good Intentions, to spend further the Reputation of their Masters. In the second, His Majesty of Great Britain doth think it most convenient, that both the Parties, together with their Confederates,

be contented to condescend to a Cessation of Arms for some competent time; lest while their Reconcilements were in Treaty, their passions be more

exasperated than before.

Fourthly, That for the furthering of their Reconcilement, His Imperial Majesty would be pleased to free the passages of Couriers from Vienna to Prague; which shall be procured likewise on the other side.

Besides these substantial points, the said Ambassador did touch three Considerations about the Person of His Soveraign Lord the King, which did render Him with His Imperial Majesty of indubitable credit, although interested by so strait Bonds in the contrary side.

First, His Majesties clearness in the beginning of

these Motions:

Secondly, His Neutrality in the Progress thereof:

Thirdly, His Equity in the present.

Touching the first point, the Ambassador declared in his Majesties Name, with high and holy Affirmations, that he had had in Election of his Son-in-law, to the Crown of Bobenia, no participation of Counsel, or fore-knowledge. Which His Majesty did not only affirm for himself; but as indubitably in the Person of his Son-in-law, that he had no way fore-practifed that Election.

For the second point, of Neturality, the Ambassador said, that his Majetty had not yet given the Title of King to his Son-in law, or of Queen to his Daughter, in any Letter either publick or private; nor had permitted the same Title, in any Sermons, within his Kingdoms.

As for the third point, of Equity, the Ambassa dor

dor shewed most evidently, the great moderation and equanimity of the King, his Master, in not having setled any firm Judgment touching the merit of the Cause, upon information from that side wherein His Majesty is most interessed, without first requiring farther knowledge from the Emperor himself by an express Minister.

This was the Memorial of my Proposition.

Four days after, the Emperor fends me word, that his Answer was ready; giving me my choice, whether I would receive it from himfelf, or elfe from the Baron of Eckemberg his Principal Councellor; and, whether verbally, or in writing, or both. In this gracious option, I took hold of the writing, because scripta manent: and wished I might have it from the Baron, without the Emperors farther trouble, till from it might rife fome new occasion. To the Baron I was called two days after; whom I found infirmer of his feet than of his head; for in truth he is a Gentleman of ftrong conceit, and fair delivery, though (as most of the Court are) tainted with the Feluit. From him I received (besides complements, and many thanks, for the Honor that Your Majesty had done his Master; and vehement protestation of intire belief in your Christian intentions at the present, and of your former clearness) the Paper that cometh herewith, indorfed, Contenta Resolutionis Cafarea data Nobilissimo Legato serenissimi Regis Magne Britannia. In delivery whereof, the Baron feeming much to infift upon the persons [to] whom the Emperor had formerly been content to commit the business; as first, to the four Interpofers, whereof the Count Palatine himself was one; then to the whole Electoral College, even after fuffifufficient offence to distast him from the Bohemians, who would have hindred his Election at Francfore; I say, by these recapitulations perchance silently inferring, that the German Princes were the properest Intervenients: I was moved to tell him, That I knew, Your Majesty in this case was more ambissions of the good, than of the glory; and if Your worthier Servants at Prague, and I here, co-operating with the French, could prepare the matter, asit were in Chylo, for a fuller concoction hereaster by more hands, we should thing our selves very happy: With which reply he seemed extreamly

pleased.

To the third point, about a Cessation, he spake fomewhat more gloriously, than we here see cause; that things were now too far run on, the Emperors Preparation being made, and his Friends in Motion: wherein he gave a touch (though more, I think, than he could then fay) upon Saxony: he added likewife, that no doubt the Count Palatine was as forward with his Powers, and Confederates, naming Bethlebem Gabor, and perchance, faid he, by his means the Turk. I replied (as I had done before to the Emperor himself) that the event of Arms was uncertain; and pityful to conceive, what desperation might breed: But in the mean time, I had heard wife Men of Opinion, that the Count Palatine had done the Emperor no displeasure in accepting the Crown of Bohemia, laid upon him by those, which peradventure, might otherwise have placed it on a worse Neighbour to these Provinces. To which truth the Emperor (when I faid it) nor himfelf replyed any thing: and upon my Conscience, so they think.

To the laft, about freeing the Passage, he under-

ftood me too largely, as if I had meant the re-eftablishment of a Current Post, which round about this place is every where broken; but he hath granted his safe Conduct, upon Occasion, as far as he is able; though ea conditione, as your Majesty sees in his written Answer, ut non alias, quam disti Domini Legati liter as deferant. The only point of jealousie that I have

met with fince my coming.

To the fecond, which I make the last, because I have most to fay upon it, he told me, that the Emperor would fend to my Lodging some Persons of dignity, and knowledge, to inform me in that Caufe; as he did, the day after: Namely, the Baron Pople, Great Chancellor of Bohemia, the Baron of Straulendorf, Chief President of the Aulical Councel, Der Here Mostitz, Consiliarius Aulicus; the first a Bohemian, the other two Germans; of whose Persons I shall afterwards inform your Maiesty. But to proceed: The Errand, delivered by the Great Chancellor, confifted for the most part of things I knew were often published already, which I shall the less care for to repeat, because Your Majesty received lately the substance thereof, under the Title of,------ex Constitutionibus & Privilegis, &c. configned to me by the faid Deputies; and likewise the same again more clearly set down and more fully expressed by a new Author, as yet unknown, a Book the Emperor himself sent me, the day after this Conference, to be conveyed unto Your Majesty. Two things they urged with much vehemency: [First,] certain Letters, both from the Bohemian [Directors] and which is more, from all the States of Hungary, with pendent Seals; wherein they call this Emperour [ King ] fifteen Months after they had chosen him

him, and yet the Chancellor having fooken nothing in all that time, they afterwards pretended that the Election was null . They shewed likewise an Original Letter from the Count Palatine himfelf. dated at Hidelberg April 23. 1619. tempore Vicariatus, to the now Emperor, as King of Bohemia, both in the Subscription, and the Superscription. cond urged point was, that neither the Silesians, nor the Moravians, which concurred in the Election of the Count Palatine, had any power to do it at that time, but that it was approved at their return home. ex post facto. Lattly, all objections made against Ferdinando, in point of Regiment, or Intrafion dufing the Life of the Emperor Matthias, they are contented, for ought I fee, to bestow upon Matthias himfelf.

This is the fubstance of a long Conference, beautifully interlarded with divers praises of the Emperors good Nature; which I think truly are due unto him, if he be considered in his own capacity: but these Orators could give it no credit, being, as I here, the greatest inflamers of all this business, and principally the principallest of them; a man saved at the time of the desentation, dum regnabat rosa, only

by being here.

This is a faithful Relation of all that hath hitherto passed between the Emperor, or his Servants,
and me in this place; wherein your Majesty sees,
that I have obtained two things: First, a Freedom
to propound, and next a Freedom to fend: whereupon the French Ambassadors, and my felf, have
this very day accorded to send joyntly to Prague,
for there we must begin, even in point of civility.
This is but an exploratory, and pretentative purpose between us; about the form whereof, and the
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matter, we shall consult to morrow: and your Majesty immediately upon the return of our Messengers from thence, and some feeling of the Emperor here, shall have knowledge of all by another express Cuorier.

### Septemb. 23. 1620.

## Duplicate of Secretary Nantons Letters.

My Lord Ambassador,

HIs Majesty hath commanded me to make you this short Answer to your fair and well-digested Relation sent by Ballard.

I. That He allows very well, and is throughly fatisfied with the good endeavors you have used

with the Emperor.

2. That He would have you give thanks to His Imperial Majesty, for the good respect shewed to His Majesty in your Person, being His Ambassador; which we conceive, by your Lordships Letters, to have been every way equal at least, if not beyond those demonstrations that have been afforded the French; of which we have received other informations out of France, that they have no more than answered their expectations.

3. That your Lordship can do no better Service to Christ, and to his Majesty, than to open any sair way to a Treaty. Maste, ergo, & quam nactus es spartam exorna. You have begun well, wherein you have already fasti plusquam dimidium: I know your own understanding and Judgment to be such, and your zeal to the Publick, and to our Great Masters Service, that you will need neither en-

courage-

couragement, nor further directions for the main,

than those you carried along with you:

That you are to deal effectually with the Emperor, not to proceed too halfily to the publishing of the Banne, feeing that would be to deliver over the Patrimony of His Majestie's Children unto Strangers; which were an unkind requital of His Majesty's Princely, fincere, and moderate intentions and proceedings toward him; and must of necessity Interest and Imbarque His Majesty in the defence of His Childrens inheritance; which His Majesty hopes the Emperor will take into his advised and serious consideration.

This is all I have to recommend unto you for the present, as from His Majesty: for my self, I promise it my self from you, that you are resolved I am

and will remain

Whitehal Sept. 23.

Your Lardships most assuredly to do your service.

Septemb. 1620.
The Copy of my Letter written to His Majestie's
Ambassadors at Prague.

S. P.

I Do address the present unto your Lordships, or in your absence to Sir Francis Nesbersole, by this Gentleman Mr. Walter Waller, coming in company of Monsieur de Sigonie, whom the French Ambassadors, Duke d'Angolesme, Monsieur de Bethunes, and Monsieur de Preaux, do conjoyn with me in this Dispatch; the scope whereof I cannot well set down, without first telling what doth lead it. I have been here almost a formight, well received M m 2.

with all imaginable circumftances due to the Honor of our Gracious Master. My proposition to the Emperor did consist of these four points:

1. That it would please him to make known his inclination towards a fincere Treaty upon the pre-

fent Motions.

2. That he would be likewise pleased to instruct me by one, or two, or more Persons, of choice and knowledge, in all the fundamental Arguments touching the merit of the Cause; promising to represent them faithfully to the King my Master.

3. To condescend to a ceffation of Arms for some competent time, least while the Reconcilement is in Treaty, the passions be more and more exaspe-

rated.

4. That for the furtherance of these good intentions, the Emperor will be pleased to grant Passports for Conriers from Vienna towards Prague, upon all oc-

casions where his Armies lie.

Of these, he hath yielded to the first and last; namely a freedom to treat (whereof I made fome doubt) and a freedom to fend; whereupon the French Ambassadors and my self have joyntly formed this present Dispatch; to this end, that the Elector Palatine may likewise by your Lordships, or by his Majesties Agent there, be drown as far as we have disposed the Emperor in the first and last points of my Proposition; for to this hour the Prince Christian of Anhalt (though the French Ambaffadors before my coming had written and expresly fent unto him) hath given no Answer, by which conjecture may be made, whether the forefaid Elector will treat or no, or whether the Bohemians will fuffer it. Now because if I should end here, fo much only as I have hitherto faid, would would scantly import the price of the carriage we have thought fit (I speak still plurally in the names of the French and my self) to acquaint your Lordships, and Sir Francis nethersole, with some ways that have been conceived for the effecting of our Masters good intentions about the Publick repose.

It hath been first thought very expedient, that both parties were drawn to remit these great differences to a Diet at Regensburg of German Princes, with in-

tervention of Foreign Ambassadors.

Next, some have gone fo far (and this both the French and my self profess to have taken upon the way, even amongst the Friends of the Elector) as to project a form of Agreement upon some such Articles as these that follow.

1. That the Elector Palatine be contented to relinquish the Title and possession of the Kingdom of

Bohemia.

2. That the Emperor Ferdinando, according to the first Election of the Bobenians, and by Virtue thereof shall enjoy the entire Profits and Title of the said Crown, during his natural Life.

3. That after the decease of the said Emperor, it shall be free for the *Bohemians* to chuse what King they will, and much more to admit him whom they have designed, namely the *Palatine* Heir apparent.

4. That for affuring the immunities of that People, and future Freedom in the exercise of both Religions, the Emperor be contented to commit the Regiment of the said Kingdom to the Naturals thereof.

5. That of Persons on each side banished, whether Spiritual or Civil, nothing be said till a sull agreement about the rest. Concerning these things

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(I mean as well the Diet as the project) the French Ambassadors and my self do joynely pray your Lordships, or in your absence Sir Francis Netberfole, by your wisdoms to found the inclinations of that place where you are, that accordingly we may here, upon your Answer, likewise feel the Emperor (with whom it were ill manners to begin.) Not fixing our conceits upon this which hath now been represented, but leaving it as a Bears whelp, which may be licked into a better form; and remaining here both willing and defirous to receive either this better pollished, or some new conception from your Lordships, that we may drive to the wished end: Of all which an account hath been given from hence to our Sovereign Mafter, that his high and Christian wisdom may approve, or alter what it shall please And fo commending to Almighty God, the God of Peace and Love, your Lordships and the Publick health, I humbly reft,

> At your Commandments, H. WOTTON.

Vienna. 1620.

Posts. I have done Mr. Dickinson (my Friend and Consociate in the Treaty at Santoan) a great deal of wrong not to mention him in this Dispatch, if he be with your Lordships of which I was doubtful.

The Ambassadors Answer from, Prague Octob. 18. 1620.

Right Honorable,

SIR Francis Netherfole communicated unto us your SLordships of the 7th of September St. vet. the 9th present, the impediments of journeying, with the delays

delays we met with at Drefden, having made our arrival fo late here, that he had not only given overture to the business, but gained such an Anfwer, as the prefent constitution of the state of Affairs, and Affections of Parties would admit: for which we refer you to his Relation to whose endeavors the Honor is due. You will easily believe. that we would give all the force we could to fecond this great good work, fo piously intended by our gracious Mafter, fo requisite for Christendom. and fo needful to draw our Masters dear Son-in-Law, and his bleffed Lady, out of the extreme difficulties they are in, and, in this work, to be joyned with your wisdom and dexterity. Here you will find ready affections to Peace, to treat, to admit the ways and conveniencies to Treaty, if a ceffation of Arms may be accorded: but the difficulty lies to find the medium. The Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Appurtinances, are the very que-ftion; and they tell you here, that the granting of a disposition thereof, is to overthrow their Privileges, Immunities, and Rights: So to leave the possession of the Kingdom, and to keep it, is to reconcile Tea and No. Yet our earnest longing being to fee a good end of our gracious Masters bleffed defigns, we cannot but think of ways to keep on foot the contentment of Traffick with you, and communicate them, though but raw indigested conceptions of our own, to be produced further, if your Judgement and hope warrant them. This granted, that both Parties have affection to Treat. doth warrant the freedom of access to the Instruments. Wherenpon we propound as followeth: That whereas His Majestie's Son-in-Law (for ought we can find) is refolute to hold both the Title and Mm 4

Possession of this Kingdom, it may be advised, whether the Emperor may be drawn to content himfelf with the Title, and fuch a Compensation by a yearly proportion of Money, as competent and equal Arbitrators shall judge to be fit. Hereto may be added. the quitting of Austria on the one part, and Restirution of the Palatine on the other. As for banished Men on both fides, and particular Rights, both Civil and Criminal, the same Arbitrators may deal therein according to equity. Having befides Sir Francis Netberfole's faithful endeavors, founded with our best lines, and we cannot fay found the depth, but a kind of fcantling, we offer you to measure, whether this hear of War and Confusion may by such a Channel be drawn to a peaceable Haven; the perfect good fleering of which, we present to your great practice in affairs of Confequence, to the good guidance whereof, we offer all our powers and endeavors, while they may be of use; but if we find no other ground of hope here then we have hitherto, we are resolved to draw towards home; and in that case, your Lordship finding occasion, may continue your Addresses to Sir Francis Netberfole, of whose careful correspondence you may rest assured. Wherewith we rest,

#### Your Lordships

From Prague, October 18. St. vet. 1620. in all true Affection to Serve you,

Edw. Conwey. Rich, Weston.

J. Dickenson Secr. Assistant.

#### Octob. 1620.

#### Amico Veteri S. P.

A Ccepi quas ad me Wormatia dederas Octobris 10. quibus effusius respondebo per unum ex metus quem

istbac in Angliam destinavi intra triduum.

Famdin scis, legatos Gallicos & me simul singulos Nobiles utriusque Nationis cum totidem famulis in Bohemiam ablegasse, ad explorandam Coronati Electoris mentem super eadem fere Concordiæ formula, quam ipsemet mibi Stutgardæ injeceras, quamque commemorati legati, credo, etiam bauserant ex eodem fonte. Ex nostris Nobilibus Gallus, nomine Sigonius, solus rediit : Is Anglum in Oppidulo Austria Superioris ( quod Freystadt vocant) reliquit sub potestate morbi. Duo Famuli Pragæ periere ex Febre Hungarica, que perexiguo intervallo distat à peste : Literæ intactæ pervenerunt, per quas incipio conjectari, quam operofa res sit circa quam sudamus, Nemo te melius novit, quantulum legati valeant in turbatis temporibus. Igitur recte videris, exuto Civili munere militari subiisse. Utcunque, bene speramus ; & de eventu, qualiscunque demum furit, te faciam brevi cer. tiorem. Interim boc scias velim, natos bic rumores per omnium era de magna Bohemorum strage, super Sigonii Galli reditu, tanquam ipse id attulisset : qued profecto in bac Aula est familiaris ludus. Somniant que volunt ; O cuicunque ex Castris advenienti aliquid affingunt; præcipue paulo ante Mercurii aut Sabbati diem, quo bine Cursores in omnes oras avolant ; quia falsa impressio interdum caufa est magnerum motuum.

The Memorial Exhibited to his Imperial Majesty by
Henry Wotton Knight, Ambassadour Extraordinary from the King of Great Britain, after his Audience of the 17. of November, 1620.

27. Styl. nov. Translated and verbum from the Italian.

The faid Ambassadour began with thanks in the King his Master's Name, for the good Reception he had found here, in all points of due respect to the Honor of his Majesty whom he served.

2. After this, he faid, that as his Majestiy had to this hour conserved himself purely neutral in the Business of Bobemia, so he would remain hereafter, till more liquid information than he had yet seen from either side, touching the merit of the cause; and would proceed with all real intention in the Crhistian Office of a Mediator, without entring into those of a Judge, and much less of a Party.

3. That although his faid Majesty was resolved to suspend his judgment, for as much as might concern the differences between the Emperor and Bobenians; yet he sound himself tyed both by nature and by reason, not to leave the Patrimonial inheritance of his own descendants, that is, neither the inferiour nor superiour Palasinate in the hands of any alien Usurper: the said Patrimony being a thing separated from the rest of the present Controverse, and so understood in the Treaty of Ulm by the common consent of the Lieutenants of the Union and the League.

4. That as his Majesty of Great Britain would be unwillingly perswaded, without the Emperour's

own affirmation, that the Marquess Spinola was by his Order entred hostility into the lower Palatinate, fo much less could be believe, that his faid Imperial Majesty would lend any Authority expost facto to fo injust an intrusion, by way of proscription, or otherwife; with which the moderate proceeding of his Majesty in the whole progress of this Cause, from the very first motions, should be ill recompenfed.

Laftly, The Ambaffadour befought his Imperial Majesty, according to the declaration of his Will already paffed, to condescend actually to a sincere Treaty upon the Bohemian Business, to which the French Ambaffadours and himfelf had already joyntly disposed the other part.

#### A Copy of the Emperor's Answer to my Audience, 28. Nov. 1620.

D ea quæ Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Legatus nuper, chm ore tenus, thm (cripto proposuit ; Sacratissima Casarea, & Hungariæ Bohemixque Majestas, Dominus noster Clementissimus, benignè respondet, uti animum suum ad solida amicitia atque benevolentiæ studia cum ' serenitate sua sincere '1. The Style of the continuanda proclivem jam Emperour's Chancery tum ab initio Legationis sue when he treateth with dicto Domino Legato decla- Kings, is not Majestas, ravit, ita etiamnum eidem which he referveth for sese proposito firmiter inbærere.

hemicum guod attinet, in when he heard that the

himself, but either Serenitas, or Regia Dignitas: Ad negotiun autem Bo- This made him angry, French Ambaffadours fivled Bethlem Gabor, Serenissimum: who on the other fide, gave them leave to entitle him how they would, adding this Reason, That they were not Ambaffadours which could make or unmake Kings.

2. Of these words he taketh advantage, which were in your Majesties Credential Letter delivered by me.

e 3. I wonder he would touch this point, wherein I had clared both the Arch-duke Leopoldus and the Emperor himself: namely, that the first fublidiary Troops fent towards the Palatinate, were meerly Voluntaries, without Your MajestiesContribution, and defensively intended, before any noise of the Invasion.

quo Majestati sua Cafarea Regiæg; non alia Controversia est quam quæ Principibus, cum subditis suis rebellibus ad obedientiæ metam reducendis esse solet; certo sibi persuadet , Serenissimum Magnæ Britannia Regem, pro fingulari sua prudentia atque integritate evidentem, quæ pro Majestate sua Cafarea. militat, causæ justitiam atque æquitatem agnoscere & observare: eoque magis gratum habet, quod Affinitatem, & Genus, & Fædera, Regio sanè judicio, infra Conscientia legem bactenus sese locasse scripserit. Optasset autem Majestas sua Cæsarea, ut boc ipsum tot auxiliaribus copiis è Serenitatis suæ Regnis atque Provinciis iniquissima causa ' subsidio missis, aut certè permissis, nequaquam Serenitas sua dubium reddidisset: Sed potius Generum suum, non tantim prudentissimis monitis, atque con-Gliis, verum etiam viribus substractis, ab iniqua cupiditate alienis se Regnis immiscendi absterruisset; unde non alius quam optatus almæ pacis fructus, out Majestati sua in Bohemia, Palatino no verd in Disionibus, quas Majestatis Cæsareæ, Sacrique Romani Imperii benesicio tenebat, res tranquillæ persisterent, sperari potuisset. Nunc si in Disionibus propriis quas à Suprema Majestate Cæsarea, Sacroque Imperio, in feudum cum sidelitatis obsequio recognoscere

debebat, quasque Dominus Legatus de Patrimonium appellat. panam temerarii ambitus contra Dominum de Imperatorem suum, Serenissimi Regis. Gener experitur, non habet quem culpet, praterquam quod animo suo obsecundare, de intempestivis suorum consiliis, quam prudentissimis Majestatis sua Calarex, Regum, Electorum de Principum, ipsiusque Soceri sui consiliis deferre maluerit.

Et sanc nullus non iniquissi mum astimabit, si tempestive precavere non liceret, ne Feuda & beneficia qua à Supremo Monarcha stuunt, in propriam suam injuriam redundent: quod quidem Se-

4. Indeclaring Your Majesties Will and determination from the beginning touching the Palatinates, if they should be assailed, I told the Emperour, that though in the fingle Bufiness of Bohemia You had fuspended Your Judgment till more liquid proofs; yet You found Your Self tyed both by Nature and Reason, not to fuffer the Patrimonial Inheritance of Your Own Descendents in the hands of an Alien Ufurper.

renissimo Magnæ Britanniæ Regi (cui perpetuamin Regnis suis pacem ex animo Majestas sua Cæsarea precatur) uti rerum bumanarum vices sunt tam aliquando obesse posset quemadmodum nunc ad injustam Generi causam colorandum prætenditur.

Hine itaque Dominus Ligatus rationes baud obseure colliget, quibus permota Majestas sua Cæsarea, vigore Constitutionum Imperialium, ad turbatam Imperii pacem redinredintegrandam, & Inclytæ Domus suæ fura vindicanda, Primarium Imperii Principem, & Patruelem suum ebarissimum, Archiducem Albertum requiseverit, à quo Marchio Spinola cum sto-

c. At this Andience I rente exercitu, Literis Majestatis suæ Cæfareæ Paten. told the Emperour, that Your Majesty tibus munitus, adversus eum submissus, qui nulla injuria would hardly be perfwaded, without his lacessitus, rebellibus subditis, infami & abominando quiown affirmation, that Spinola had invaded the buscunque Regibus & Prin-Palatinate by his express cpiibus exemplo, patrocinari, Order: And much less & Regiæ Imperatoris atque Domini sui Coronæ verticem believe, that he would Suum Submittere ausus fuit. lend any approbation thereupon ex post facto,

by way of Ban, or otherwise. Which action of Spinola, the Emperour doth here assume: But whether such washis meaning, from the beginning; or that his Success in Bobenia hath bred this resolution, may be somewhat questionable. Always sure it is, that he affirmed into the French Ambassadors long since, that the Marquess Spinola was to come into

Bohemia.

Circa Tractatum de Pace instituendum, declarat se fua Cæsarea Majestas ab eodem haudquaquam alienum; quodque intellecto Consilio Inclytæ Domus suæ Principum, nac non Electorum & Principum, quorum bactenus side-

f 6. Of this term of 40. dies quadraginta circitèr days, and the following reiftretion, not to treat touching any Province that in the province that in the lem operam adhibuit, fintra dies quadraginta circitèr fe resolvet: quem tamen administration que interim vel armis, vel also

alto modo, ad debitam Regi mean time shall be re-Dominoque suo obedientiam duced to his obedience, non fuerint reducta; refer- I have written the true vato sibi quoque jure interim cause in my Letter to tum Armis, tum Legibus & Your Majesty.

Constitutionibus Imperialibus,

contra quoscunque Pacis publicæ perturbatores, & adver-

Sarios suos procedendi.

Et in bis omnibus, quemadmodum Majestas Casarea Jure & recta Conscientia freta, nibil ambigit, omnes Christiani Orbis Reges & Principes ea probare, que pro omnibus Regibus & Principibus, quantum ad exemplum attinet, gessit: ita quicquid in posterum ex Juris prascripto in hac causa sanciet, iis dem facile se comprobaturum confidit. Domino autem Legato gratiam suam Czfarcam clementer offert.

Per Imperatorem Die Nov. 28. Anno 1620.

## Decemb. 4. 1620.

A Copy of the Emperours Answer to my Audience, about the Ban or Proscription intended against the Palatine.

CArra Cxfarea & Hungarix Bohemixque Regia O Majestas, Dominus noster Clementissimus, iisque Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Legatus de suspendenda declaratione Banni Imperialis contra Palatinum Rheni Electorem, de

expresso & Regis sui manda- 7. In Letters from M. to proposuit, in bunc sensum Secretary Naunton of respondet.

the 23. of Sept. which came fo late unto my

hands, that the Emperor's Ban was already formally couched, and ready to be put to the Print.

Migni

Magni semper Majestatem suam Casaream dieti Serenissimi Regis sibi addictissimi, officia, amicitiam, mutuamque cum Inclyta Domo Jua Austriaca conjunctionem æstimasle, & etiam nunc æstimare; ac ne minimum quidem ambigere, quinsi prudentibus & pacificis Soceri sui consiliis. Gener obsecundare, quam turbulentis pravorum instigationibus, atque animo suo morem gerere maluisset. ingens malorum necessitas tempestive præcaveri atque deelarari potuisset. Cum verò parta nuper, singulari Dei beneficio, prope Pragam contra Majestatis sua Rebelles memorabili victoria, ne nunc quidem dictus Palatinus sanioribus sese confiliis accommodet, sed in eodem inobedi-

6 8. This I think was added, out of meer conjecture: For we the Electors Actions, fince his retiring into

Silefia.

entiæ tramite h pertinaciter perseveret, quin etiam refractarios Majestatis suz fubditos, atque Provincihave heard nothing of as quæ cæteroquin Regis Dominique sui, à quo desciverunt, gratiæ baud dubic sese submitterent, ad Rebellionem malè captam, despe-

rate continuandum animet, atque instiget: Nulla Majestati suæ Cæsareæ, boc loci, benignitatis vel indulgentiæ commonstrandæ, vel declarationis pænæ etiam ad momentum suspendendæ occasio superet. Quæ tamen pro innata sibi bonitate, & singulari erga Serenissimum Magna Britannia Regem benevolentia, in boc graviffi. mo negotio, ea adbuc' tem-

9. So as upon my Intercession the Emperor hath granted fome fuspence of the Banne: Which I required for two principal Reasons:

Suprema Officii sui Cæsareæ Authoritas, & ipsa denique necessitas permissura sint, pro-

poris moderatione, quam

cansa fustitia, Sacri Roma-

ni Imperii Constitutiones,

1. Because the King cedet.

Per Imperatorem Die Dec. 4. 1620.

my Masters moderation in the Bohemian Business, not Cause, Who was so much interested in the Persons, did justly merit from the Emperor an ex-

change of temperate proceeding.

2. Because such an Imperial Profeription would but more and more inflame the minds of all Princes interessed by reason of Blood or State in the substitute of the Palatine, and would be the cause of a perpepual War in the Bowels of the Empire, contrary to the Christian endeavours and wishes of Your Majesty: Whose good intentions were now so manifested to the World by sundry Ambassages, that You were farissied in Your Own Conscience, and justified before God and Man, whatsoever should ensue. I told him besides, that I thought Your Majesty would take it kindly, if at Your request this Proscription were forborn.

# A Dispatch from Vienna, in Decemb. 1620.

# To His Most Sacred Majesty.

A Lthough I had from Your Majesty a power in my Instructions to depart hence to my other Imployment, as soon as this Controversie should be decided, either by Treaty or by Fortune; yet I have stayed here a Month and a half after the Battel, that I might view the final resolutions; whereof I shall now render Your Majesty an accompt: Which I am bound to begin with my humblest thanks for Your benign approbation of my poor Endeavours, as I have understood from both Your Secretaries; wherein I see that Your Majesty is still pleased by the excellency of Your Nature, and

by the indulgency of your Judgment, to accept honest Zeal for discretion in your own Creature. Serving therefore so good and so gracious a Master, I will proceed chearfully to the discharge of the rest,

as the Affairs fland.

By my last to Mr. Secretary Nanton, your Maje-fly understood the cause of Monsieur de Preaux his going into Hungary: And by this you may expect the fruit of his journey: There arriving after news of the defeat before Prague, He found much alteration in their faces, and much altercation in their Councels; about which he was once publickly admitted; where he understood passion enough, being the common language of Nature, but nothing elfe: for they spake in their own Tongue. At last this was the Conclusion, That a Gentleman should be immediately dispatched to the Elector Palatine (supposed at Preslaw in Silesia) to understand whether he would joyn with the Hungarians in a Treaty with the Emperor: and in case of either delay or denial, to make a folemn protestation; that they would provide for themselves: Of the event whereof the Prince of Transylvania undertook by the 15th of this Month, aut circiter, to give knowledge hither. I must profess unto your Majesty, that I did little expect (for my part) fo much formality from the faid Prince, in boc flaturerum, as to attend a return from Silesia; having before (as hath been written) so closely begun here to practife of his own reconcilement: But the truth is (as well he knows it) that he may be heard when he lifteth, by reason of the Tirk at his back; under whose shadow he will fit himfelf.

Now touching mine own peculiar duties. For with

with Bethelem Gabor and the Hungarians I have nothing to do in fingle confideration (as your Majestie's Servant) till we shall hear whether the Elector, your Son in-Law, and that Kingdom, will treat with the Emperor conjunctively or no.

Before the going of de Preaux, I had one accessto the Emperor, and two other while he was away.

The first after consultation here with the French Ambassadors, about the Answer which we had (with no small loss of time and advantage) so late received from Bohemia, addressed unto me by Sir Francis Nethersale in French, as it came to him from

the Camp.

The other two, touching your Majesties declaration of your felf in the Palatine cause, and intercession against the Emperors Bann, as they call it: about which I shall need to trouble your Majesty no farther than with the perusal of such Marginal Notes as I have added both to the forefaid French Paper, and to the Emperors two Answers in Latine, which come herewith, and contain all that may concern your latter directions in two Letters from Master Secretary Nanton. Yet I must not omit, that between the fecond and third of these Audiences, I was visited by the Baron of Eckenburg (the Emperors inwardeft Councellor and Favorite) who spent an hour or two at my Lo 18ing, with much protestation of his Masters respect towards pour Majesty; of hisgrief that things were gone on to fuch expence of Blood; of his wishes that your Son in-Law had rather taken your Majesties Councel than the Duke of Bovillon's; of his forgiving nature; of his defire to recover only his own, and to redeem this Imperial House from open fcorn: Laftly, that the King of Spain also had Nn 2 writ-

written hither, how glad he would be that your Majesty might have all possible satisfaction. This was after the Emperor had been informed of his fuccess at Prague; whereunto there was, as to all other fair discourse of this kind, but one only reply on my part; That your Majesty might justly promife your felf very good respect here, and good Offices from Spain, by the merit of your own moderation in the Bohemian Cause, and by your Christian endeavors for the common quiet with fuch perseverance. I must not forget likewise to inform your Majesty, that my self visiting here the Spanish Ambassador (as I have usually done after my Audiences with the Emperor) and falling (as I thought might well become me) into wonder at Spinola's intrusions, enough to inflame all Chriffendom, which your Majesty (measuring other Princes by the equity of your own heart) had no reason to expect. He asked me, after a little deliberation, Whether the Marquess of Buckingham were not a Gentleman of Honor? I need not profess how glad I was of fuch occasion to do your Majesties Dearest Servant, and mine own most Noble Patron, all the right that my voice could utter; but in truth, on the other fide, extreamly furprized with fo impertinent a question to my discourse, till he eafed me with the fight of a Paper out of his Cabinet. It was the Copy of a Letter written by my Lord Marquess, in your Majesties Name, to the Spanish Ambassador residing with you: wherein your Majesty did thus far justisse the Spanish proceedings, As never to have made any promise that they would not affail the Palatinate. Whereupon this Ambassador inferred, that the said Letter written by so Noble a Personage, and in your Majesties Name.

Name, was a high discharge for Spain in the point of real dealing. I replied, That indeed I had never heard of any direct promises, or denial made about that matter; but that your Majesties Servants employed therein (whereof I was one my self to the Arch-Duke Leopoldus) did rather complain of Answers obscure and ambiguous, and very different from our plain English style. This was all that passed between the Conde d'Ogniate and me into which I have a little digressed. Now then to recollect how we stand here in point of Negotiation.

The Prince of Transylvania hath prefixed the 15th day of this Month, or thereabout, (I faid before) for his Term; within which he will fignifie in what manner he intendeth to Treat, according to the Anfwer out of Silefia. The Emperor on the other fide, did take the term of forty days for the declaring of his mind fully to me and the French Ambassadors, which expire, by our computation, on the 27. of this faid Month; intending in the mean time to preconfult with his Friends, or rather (as we perceive) with his Fortunes: And howfoever, Not to Treat of any Province, or part, as then reduced to his obedience. So as plainly enough he chose that respite to contemplate the intervenient changes: For at first he was more tractable; he spake of no Friends whose advices were before to be asked; he demanded no term to think farther on the matter; he added no restriction: all these are the suggestions of his prosperity. And so we stand in point of business.

In the state of the Provinces I can deliver nothing but sluctuation and submission, the Ordinary confe-

quences of Victory.

The first were the Bohemians, who forgetting both Oaths and Contracts, yielded up the Original Pattent of their Combination to the Duke of Bavaria,

as the Emperor's Commissary.

The next were the Moravians; who after the Count Buequey had taken Trigla, one of their Wealthieft, and fummoned Znam, the chiefest of their Towns, resolved in a full Assembly of their States, to submit themselves by Deputies, who art hourly expected here.

The other Appendants to the Bohemian Crown are likely to follow the Moravian Example, being incomparably (as hath well appeared) the most refolute piece of the whole knot, and that which gave

vigour to the rest, dum Troja stabat.

What the Hungarians shall determine of themfelves, I will fer down in a Postscript; for which I have long suspended the dispatch of this Bearer.

I cannot conclude without representing unto your Majesty, in all event, two humble remembrances, whereof your higher Wisdom may perchance make

fome ufe.

The first is, That I conceive the French King bound to joyn with your Majesty in the Palatine Cause: I do not mean only by reason of State and Jealousie of this spreading House, cuim glistit potentia, as I may modestly say, nor by Ancient obligation and gratitude to the said Electoral Line, or to your own Kingdoms in the needful days of his Father, but by a fresher band, even by the Treaty of Ulm, where his Embassadors did intervene: For they tell me, that by Virtue thereof, neither directe nee indirecte, any of the Provinces belonging to the League, or to the Union, could be molested by either side. Which the Electors of Ments.

Mentz and Colen have broken by permission of Spinola; nay, divers ways, by subministration of commodities to his Army. And I hear, that, to fave themselves, they have procured Patents from the Emperor, that as his Commissaries, they may do fome things which they could not do or permit as Leaguers. Always fure I am, that the Duke of Bavaria did three or four days withftand the nominating of the French Ambatfadors in the forefaid Treaty, which the other fide did as vehemently affect; for no other imaginable reason, within my penetration, than only to engage France in the maintenance thereof. This I have touched, not that I doubt of your accommodating of those things civilly without Arms, or that your Majesty shall need (if extremity require the sharpest remedies) any help to vindicate your own Descendents from violence; but because en tout cas the conjunction of France would be some ease to the Princes of the Union, whereof your Majesty is the head.

The other point that I am bold to offer unto your Majestie's consideration, is, That the King of Spain himself is bound by his own protestation to revoke Spinola: For therein he declareth, that his meaning was not by affishing the Emperour, Cuiquam Mortalium per injuriam vim infere, aut in aliena cupiditatem suam extendere: which protestation the Emperor received from his own Ambassador in the Spanish Court, and by his Secretary here did communicate the same with me, to be sent unto your Majesty, as I did in my first Dispatch; and have now again sent another Copy, least the former should be strayed. And so with my humble Nn 4 Prayers

Prayers to the eternal God for your bleffed health and joy, I ever reft,

Your Majestie's long devoted Servant, and faithful Vassal, H.W.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

The expected Advertisement is now come from the Prince of Transplvania to this effect. He greatly complaineth of the faintness and defection of his Confederates in general: And in particular, first, that an Ambassage which he addressed since the Battle to the Moravians, with animating per-fwasions, took no place. Next, that the Elector Palatine (to whom he expresly fent into Silesia Fobannes Krauss, Secretary of the Kingdom of Hungaria) hath not vouchfafed him any clear or de-terminate Answer to the Subject of his Errand, which I have before fet down, Nay farther, that the Prince of Anhalt, and the Count of Hollock, came joyntly together unto the faid Johannes Krauss in Preslaw, and there among other discourse told him, That the remainder of this Affair was not to be bandled by the French Ambassadors, nor by me bere; which the French take very fenfibly, especially their offer and intercession having before by the said Prince of Anhalt been unaccepted, and a Letter which they wrote unto him, to this hour unanfwered; though fent by Monsieur de Ste. Catherine, no suspected Person, but one, who had been so long resident in the Palatine Court. Upon which premifes, they have feriously defired me to testifie unto your Majesty (as in truth I am bound) their willingwillingness to have mediated in this cause, and their continual frank and faithful conferences with me about the common end. On the other fide, I have defired them to represent things fairly to the King, their Mafter, and not upon any private diffafte to abandon the common interest, which so many Princes have in the fubliftence of the Palatine. this Advertisement from Betbelem Gabor and his Hungarians (who are refolved to Treat fingly, and have fent hither to propound it) we have gotten knowledge, that fuch a Letter is come to the Emperor from the Duke of Saxony, touching the Palatine Elector, as makes us conceive he will use his mediation rather than ours: So as I am preparing towards Venice in this hard feafon, where (as your Majesties Servant) I have the Honor to be much expected and defired, as I hear by their Resident in this place. especially the Republick standing in no small perplexity and follicitude at the prefent divers ways. There I shall attend your Majesties farther directions, and leave the French (as I found them) upon this Stage, till they get leave to depart, for which the have dispatched home an express Courier, intending in the mean time to deal between the Emperor and Bethelem Gabor.

# The Accord of Ulm, June 23. 1620. (mentioned in the forgoing Letter.)

Nons Maximilian par la grace de Dieu Conte Palatin du Rhein, Duc de la haute & basse Baviere, &c. Et nous Joachim Ernest par la mesme grace, Marquis de Brandenbourg, Duc de Prusse, Stetin, & Pomeranie, des Casoubes, & Wenden, de Silesie, de Croonen & Jagendorff, Burgrave de Nurnberg.

& Prince de Rugen:

Be it known unto all and every one, that feeing as well within the Sacred Empire of Germany, as in divers Kingdoms and Neighbouring Eflates, Troubles and Tumults, and Alterations have been on foor, and long continued, whereas not the Catholicks only, but the Electors, Princes, and Confederate States of the Religion, have taken occasion to Arm themselves, which indeed hath been the cause of great differences and misprisions, if these preparations of Arms, and Levy of Souldiers should proceed further on both sides, to offend and destroy one amother: Therefore that such despight may be removed, and good friendship between both Parties in the Empire established, We have made a firm and constant Agreement, by means likewise of the French Ambassadors, which were at that time in the Imperial City of Ulm.

And first of all, We Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, as General of the Catholick League, by Virtue of our Authority, and We Joachim Ernest, Marquels of Brandenburg, as Lieutenant General of the Union. by Virtue of our Authority, in the presence and approbation also of other Princes, States, Alliants, Deputies with full Power and Authority, do promife and vow for our Selves of each Party, Alliants, Electors, Princes, and States, by all the real Words of Truth and Fidelity, in the best and most stable form that may or ought hold, or stand firm by all the Rules of Right, That no Electors, Princes, Alliants, States, of either Party, in what manner foever, or under whatfoever pretence, neither by themselves nor any other, shall with Arms

Arms pertaining to either Party, offend or cut off the Treaty of Peace, or discommodate, pillage, fpoil, attaint, or trouble one another, nor any thing to them belonging, as Electoralities, Principalities, Subjects, Towns, Villages, Revenues Ecclefiattical or Civil: But that as well the Catholicks with the Gospellers, as they again with the Catholicks, be and remain in true and unfeigned Peace, Concord, and Charity, every of them fecure in their own Proprieties, without fear of Trouble or Affault. And to the end that this Promife and Confidence (being otherwife required and enjoyned between Princes and Neighbouring Effates, by Constitutions of the Empire) may faithfully be continued, it is provided, That the two Armies here near encamped, with all possible speed remove out of the places where they were pitched, without any detriment to either Party, and that they lodge not together in one place.

Secondly, it is concluded, That if perchance any Elector, Prince, Confederate, State, of either Party, or indeed either of them in groß, should require upon necessity a Passage, by Virtue of Ordinances of the Empire, for the Defence and Security of them and their Subjects, having first peaceably given sufficient Caution, neither of them ought to deny it: Provided the same requisition be seasonably made, not upon rash and precipitate Advice, when the Army be upon the Frontiers, or indeed within the Territories of them, with complaint or discom-

modity of the Subjects

Thirdly, Forasmuch as We Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and other Electors, Princes, Catholick Estates and Alliants, have excluded from this present Treaty the Kingdom of Bohemia, with the Incorporated Provinces, and other States He-

reditary of the House of Austria, and comprehended within the Treaty, only the Electorals, and Countries belonging to Electors, Princes, and States Confederates of either Party, under which also is contained the Electoral Palatinate, with all Inheritances thereunto belonging, fituate within the Empire: They ought not to be expended further, feeing at this present we persist not in these differences, that baving nothing common with the rest, but we will keep good Correspondence with them without any fuspicion: Which likewise We, Joachim Ernest, Marquess of Brandenburg, do agree to the Resolution of the Electors, Princes, and States Catholick, touching the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the the United Provinces, with other Inheritances appertaining to the House of Austria, for Us, our Alliants, Electors, Princes and States; and We will no less on our fide. that the faid Kingdom of Bobemia, with the United Provinces and Countries Hereditary to the House of Austria, be not comprized in this Treaty, underflanding as well this Declaration to be for the Electoralities, Principalities, and Estates situate and being within the Empire.

Fourthly, Whereas during this Treaty, divers times mention hath been made of the Griefs of the Empire not yet decided, the decision of the same is remitted to some more convenient time, seeing this was too short, and the Grievances touched not only those of either Party, but in general all, both Catholick and Evangelical States of the whole Empire, concerning which, for this present, there is no sufficient Power or Authority to determine.

And feeing both of either Party pretend loffes and damages done and received by either fide, and particularly at the Village of Sandshaim, and thereabouts, it shall be shortly treated of reasonable restitution for the same. All which things, We, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and We, Joachim Ernest, Marquess of Brandenburg, as well for us, as for the above mentioned our Confederates, Electors, Princes and States, do promise to maintain and keep inviolably: In witness of which, we have set to our Hands and Seals, the 3. July,

23. June,

Locus O Sigilli Locus O Sigilli Maximilian. Joachim Erneft.

A Dispatch by Ralph from Venice, 1621.

SIR,

I Choose at the present to write thick and small, for the closer conveyance of that which followeth, first to your faithful hands, and by them immediately unto our Sove-

reign Lord the King.

The deputed Cardinals of the Congregation or Committee in Rome touching his Majesties Matrimonial Treaty with Spain, having resolved negatively even after six Assemblies; the Cardinal Ludovisio and the Spanish Ambassador went joyntingly to the Pope, to pray him, that by no means the negative resolution might be divulged as yet, but suppressed for a time; because some turns were to be done by the concealment thereof. Hereupon the Vinetian Ambassador, by name, Renievo Zen, (the most diving man that ever the Republick hath beld in that Court, and of much considence with the Pope upon old acquaintance) observing that the foresaid Con-

Congregation had voted, and that their censures were concealed; comes to the Cardinal Ludovisio, the Popes Nephew, before-named, and extracts from bim the whole matter, with the means and reason of the suppresfion. This I have received from a credible, and I would Say, from an infallible fountain, if it did not become my simplicity, in a point so much concerning the eternal disbonor of agreat King, to leave always some possibility of mil-information. Yet thus much more I must add, not out of Intelligence, but from Sober discourse; that although the present Pope bath been bitherto esteemed more French, than any of his Predecessors a great while; yet is not the King of Spain, Such'a Bankrupt in Rome, but that be might easily have procured an assent in the fore-named Congregation, or at least a resolution sooner, than after five or fix meetings of the deputed Cardinals; unless delays had been studied. Be it bow it will; as to his Majesty doth belong the Soveraignty of Judgment; so to his poor bonest Creatures abroad, the liberty of relation, and a frank discharge of our Zeal and Duties. To which I will subscribe my unworthy Name.

Venice, Feb. 11.

A Dispatch about the King of Bohemia's Affairs at Venice, 1622.

Right Honorable,

Have formerly acquainted his Majesty, through your hands, how my self being then in Padoua under

under Phyfick (of late my familiar evil) I was recalled to Venice, by the arrival here of Seignor Filippo Calandrini, expresty fent to follicit some contribution from this Republick to the support of Count Mans. felt's Army, wherein my joynt endeavour was required by Letters from the Elector himself (as then at the Hague) And likewife I was thereunto the berter enabled by very careful instruction from Sir Dudley Carlton under cypher, of the whole bufiness how it flood. Neither did I need any new immediate Command from his Majesty, to serve in the Cause of his own descendents, especially after your Letters of the 19th of January, by Order whereof I had before in his Royal Name made a general exploration here of their good will towards us, and now by the present imployment of the foresaid Calandrini, as also upon Letters from the Elector to this Duke, (whereof the delivery and purfuit was recommended to me) I found apt occasion to descend à Thesi ad Hypothesin; which with what discretion it hath been handled, I dare not fay; but fure I am. with as much zeal and fervour, as the capacity of my heart could hold; whereof the accompt is now due, as followeth:

Two full Audiences I had upon this Subject at mine own demand, and a third at their calling as long as both the former. In my first (to make it appear more serious than an ordinary duty) I told them I would do that which I had never done before. For whereas we commonly leave the reference of our Propositions to a Secretary of the State, who stands always by the Ambassador, and is the transporter both of our Arguments and of our affections to the Senate: The Tribunal where we speak being not definitive (which is no small dif-

advantage) I now promifed to ease his memory my felf with an extract of what I had said, which was accordingly sent him the next morning, containing two principal heads:

1. The merit of the Cause;

2. The community of the Interest.

Both as clear as the Sun. For touching the first, the question now was only de recuperatione proprii, violently invaded: In the course of which action, it did appear by pregnant inferences, lately published, together with those intercepted Letters which Friar Hiacimbo, an out-cast from this Town, did carry in his Wallet, That the Duke of Bavaria had practised the Electorate of Rhine before the true Elector was called to the Crown of Bohemia; which I thought the fitter to be touched; for that I knew the Duke had newly received a Copy of the said divulged Letters from his Agent at the Hague, and it

was a point of great impression.

Now their Interest was as plain as the Case it felf: For if fuch violences shadowed with Imperial Authorities, should likewise be countenanced and comforted with fuccess, what could hinder, within a while, the fame Torrent to overflow Italy, and especially this Dominion, circondate da affetti poco sicuri d' ogni intorno, as I told them I might well fay, even with modesty. These premises being laid, I inferred, that his Majesty, upon a Cause so just, and a common Interest so clear, was most confident in the Wisdom of this grave Senate, that having fpent with palpable benefit in their last Motions of fresh memory qualche bona summa (indeed about two millions of Duckats) to maintain a diversion so near at hand as il Piede delli Monti, they would find it more reasonable to foment

foment the like further off; all diversions and re vulsions (both Politick and Natural) being fo much the more effectual, by how much the more remote. Lastly, that though his Majesty in exchange of that open, frank, and voluntary Declaration, which he made of himself heretofore in time of their Troubles, might now expect the like again from them ex aguo; and that no Prince living knew better what the declared Authority of a Dominion fo eminent, would import to the furn of the bufiness. Yet not to press his Friend too far, his Majesty would be contented with a filent Contribution without noise, under any form that should best please them, and in such proportion as should be conformable to their Love; whereby they should oblige his Royal Person and Progeny, not to be wanting unto them in any of their own just Occurrents. This was the substance of my first Audience, and of my Memorial fent to the Secretary. At my fecond, after I had preffed the fame Inducements more effectually, and informed them that the Elector was now gone in person to add vigor to his Subjects, fo as their help could never come in a better feafon: I fell to tell the Duke, that though it could not become my fimplicity to prescribe any form to so wise a Prince, yet I would crave leave to infinuate thus much, that they might under the Name of the States (with whom their Confederacy was already known) pass their good will towards his Majesty and his Son-in-Law, without any further imaginable noise, by adding what they should please moreover to that Contribution (whereunto they are tied by League) of 50000 Florins, or 5000 L sterling per mensem, for which furcrew (whatfoever it should be) the States would be anfwerable.

fwerable to the Elector: Nay farther, I told him, albeit now by long fervice, and by the very conscience of my Zeal towards them, I might presume to Merit some Part of their confidence; yet I would therein dispence even with mine own Ambition. and undertake as much likewise for Signior Calandrini, leaving it free unto them to exercise their Friendship through the Hands of Signior Surriano. their own Minister at the Hague, without acquainting us here with their determination, for the more filent carriage thereof: yet withal, I was not tender to re-intimate unto them, that both the King my Mafter did merit a Noble and open Proceeding, and on the other fide, this Republick was by God's Bleffing fo powerful, as they should not need to smother their Resolutions in so just a Cause. In conclusion I told him, that I did languish for the Senates Anfwer; for well I knew that they are much guided, like the wisdom of a Merchant, by accidents, which makes them fo prone to defer, still harkening how things fall or rife, and accordingly shaping their Councils. Between these Audiences Signior Calandrini did likewise twice intercede in the name of the States, whose perswasion (as their Instrument) he fpent apart from mine, though otherwise our agreement was well enough known.

On Wednesday last, some five or fix days after my fecond Audience, I was called to college, and the Senates Answer read unto me very loud and treatably, as the Duke willed the Secretary; whereof yet I required a fecond reading, for Copies are not usually granted; which I must note for another disadvantage of moment in negotiating with this State, because they may appeal from our Me-

mories.

mories. In this Answer were repeated, with some new beautifying, the three points wherein they did pretend to have prevented, his Majesties former imploration of their concurrence, when he wrote his own Letters in behalf of his Son-in-Law. The three points were these:

1. Their Contribution to the States, by which they

maintain in those Provinces 4000 men.

2. Their Entertainment and Pentioning of the Count Mansfelt, with intent to fix him where he is, who elfe might have been drawn away by other offers.

2. Their Promise to joyn with the French King

and Savoy in the Rhetian business

All which three, they call Points of Common Interest with his Majesty, and of Common Benefit to the Elector by way of Diversion; and two of them Actual Ingagements of this Republick. Now to these in the foresaid Answer, they added a fourth, for a little stronger excuse at the present; namely, a fresh and sharp Insurrection amongst the Grisons, where the Patriots of the Dieci dritture, feemed to have over-matched the Parry of the Arch-duke Leopoldo with fuch confiderable fuccess, that the Canton of Surick (who are nearest the truth) are likewife in some motion to help them; so as this State expecteth also to be called to that Feast, and well inclined thereunto. This was all the new garnishment that I could observe in their Answer. wards the end whereof I was much furprized with their telling me, in plain terms, that his Majesty was well fatisfied with those former Demonstrations of their good will in the Common Caufe. represented unto him by their Ambassador Lando, as he had written hither. To which point, though 002

the last of theirs, I replied first, That indeed his Majesty (whose excellent heart doth believe always the best of his Friends) had no reason to mislike their former Answer: And so far I had co-operated with their own Instrument, as to represent it con buon sapore; but yet no further than the marter would bear, which was but a generality of good will, and no direct fatisfaction. And whereas now they did defire me likewife to reiterate to the King my Master, their great sensibility of the Common Interest; I told them ingeniously con un stringer di spalle, that I knew not well how to do it, till they gave me more Subject: For Philosophy (whose naked Principles I had more studied than Art of Language) had taught me, even in one of her most Fundamental Maxims, that ex nibilo nibil fit. " Hereupon the Duke fell very ferioully to dilate upon the Senates Answer, and left me indeed with some occasion of contentment: For he told me, I might mark by the said Answer, a Resolution in the Senate not to neglect a Caufe wherein they held themselves so interessed, and (as had been faid before) already actually ingaged, though the business of the Grison, and the new noise from thence did at the present distract them. Of this I took prefently hold; replying, That I would receive this Speech as a Commentary upon the Seriates Anfwer; and represent unto his Majesty, that when the principal reason of their excuse should cease, namely, these fresh stirrings so near them, which feemed to require their abetment, then they would give us more particular fatisfaction. For which (to rivet it the better) I gave thanks, and told him, I would hearken after the Issue of this Rhetian noise, and accordingly put him in mind again of our own

mento, and so fell to tell me, with extreme gladness, their news of the late defeat given by Manifelt to

the Bavarian Troops.

Now to collect the fruit of my poor endeavors, thus we fland: If Action shall grow on this side, we shall furely receive more benefit by that diverfion, than we should by contribution: For the Arch-duke Leopoldo would by chance be drawn from Alsatia to think of Tirol: and the Neapolitan and Milan Levies, which should supply Germany, will be spent here. If Italy be quiet, then (dicam audax verbum) this State must necessarily help us, that it may be fo ftill; for I shall not need to make them fensible of the viciffitude of Human Troubles, either here or there, which is their common Text: But all dependeth upon his Majesties urging of his own merits, which was my highest Argument, together with that Obligation which he will acknow. ledge, as his own gracious Letters import.

This account I fend with fome diligence, that it may prevent the new Venetian Ambaifadors first Audience, or at least the leave taking of the old; into whom it may please his Majesty to insuse his good thoughts, and to take notice of these Audiences which I had here in the way of his Service, And so the Lord of Heven bless Him and His.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Signior Filippo Calandini came hither with Infiructions from the States, much refembling a Quadruple entrenchment; wherein being beaten from the first, he was to retire to the second, and so forth. The first was, To sollicite a free and open Contribution. The second, That they would at

least Contribute under the Name of the faid States. The third, That they would Contribute joyntly with the States. The fourth, That at least they would pay the Arrearages of 10000 Florins per menfem, that have run due by Virtue of their League, from the 9th of April, 1621. Since with term, the faid States pretend to have re-entred into Action ; and in this Case the States promise to contribute five of those Months to the Elector. Now, confidering the hopeful Answer that I have received. I have dealt with Signior Calandrini, to fpend the perswasion of the States in the first point absolutely; and in the last, to urge only the Arrearages upon the Contract, without adding the intention of the States to contribute any portion thereof to the Elector; least it might prejudice the hope of a greater Contribution, which no doubt his Majesty may have from hence, if it please him to urge his own merits.

## 1624: S. P.

I Send you both the inclosed, unclosed, and my Seal withal, that when you have perused them, you may seal them; for because they contain a recommendation of your self, it were somewhat incongruous to present themo-

pen.

You had yesterday received them, but that I suspended my hand too long in expectation of James; about whom we are yet in much doubt of some misadventure by his stay. You see that in the Postscript to the Dake, I mention the design of Captarola, which I have left out of his Letter, that you may not come unto him with empty hands.

It shall be fit for your self to offer him your service abroad, which I have (as you see) offered the Prince through Mr. Thomas Cary's hands, who, I hope, will let his Highness see my Letter.

And fo languishing to bear somewhat from my Nephew,

with all my duties remembred to all, Ireft,

This Tuesday Morning.

Your ever true Friend,

HENRYWOTTON.

Upon the Design you must play the Mountebank. And tell the Duke, that the one Paper containeth the Plant or ground-Lines, the other, the reared work, in Perspective with all the Dimensions so exactly, as if it please him, he may easily have a Model made thereof in Pastboard.

If Mr. Thomas Cary should by chance have been sent away again into France, then deliver, with my humble service, the Letterto my Lord of Lepington his Father, and beseech him to show it the Prince.

### May, 1626.

The Copy of my Report after the Examination of the Lord of Oldebare's Daughter.

A Ccording to His Majesties good pleasure signified unto me by an Order from His Council-Table, under the 19th. of May, and delivered by an express Messenger on Monday morning the

Lodging.

22. of the faid Month, at His Majesties College of Eton, that I should examine the Lord of Oldebare's Daughter, now resident in the Town of Windfer, in the circumstances of a business which His Majesty had committed to my trust; vid. Concerning a certain Roll of Names mentioned in a late malicious defamatory Pamphlet, which one George Egl. smm had scattered in Print; pretending therein that it was a Roll of divers great Personages which were to be Poisoned by the now Duke of Buckingham, and among those Great ones, the faid George Eglisham himself for one; which said Roll (as the faid Eglisham affirmeth) the foresaid Daughter of the Lord Oldebare had brought to the late Lord Marquets of Hamilton, her Coufin, who was one of the inrolled to be Poisoned; grounding this defamation upon the testimony of that Roll, brought by the faid Gentlewoman to the forefaid

Marques: I say, According to When I had first His Majesties Command herein, I engrired out her repaired, the next day after the receit thereof, to the faid Lord of

Oldebare's Daughter, by Name

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Anne Lien, (though not nominated by the forefaid Egl (ham, but under her Fathers Title) at her Lodging in Windfor, where I found her accompanied with her younger Sifter, and a Gentlewoman of her attendance, who were all three in the Room while I fpake with her, and I brought in with me Mr. Michael Branthwait, heretofore His Majesties Agent in Venice, as a Gentleman of approved confidence and fincerity. At my access unto her, because I was a stranger, and the business somewhat harth and umbrageous, I laboured to take from her all manner of shadow touching her felt; which in truth I found very needless: For after I had shewed her my Commission, and the places in Eglisham's Book wherein she was traduced for a Witness of this foul defamation, she was so far from disguising or reserving any circumstance, that she prevented all my inquisitiveness in some Questions which I had prepared, making a clear, a free, and a noble report of all that had passed, which she did dictate unto me, as I wrote in her Window, in her own words, without any inforcement or interruption, as followeth:

At His Majesties being in Spain, a Car-man of one Smith a Woodmonger in Westminster, found a Paper, as he faid, and gave it to my Mothers Footman to read, whose Name was Thomas Allet, who brought it immediately in me; it was half a sheer of Paper laid double by the length, and in it was written in a feribled hand, the Names of a number (above a dozen) of the Privy Council; some words had been written more, which were scraped out. The Names were not writ in order as they were of Quality. In it, next to the Marquels of Hamilton, was writ, Dr. Eglisham to imbalm him. No mention of poyloning, or any fuch thing, but very Names. I not knowing what it might import more, the Marques of Hamilton not being at that Instant in Whitehall, I sent for James Steward Servant to the Duke of Richmond, and defired him to shew his Lord that Paper, wherein was his Name. He faid he would not prefent it himfelf, but would give it to Alexander Heatly, his Secretary. So he took the Paper from me; and within a day or two after he brought it back to me, and faid, the Secretary thought it not necessary to trouble his Lord withall, for as he did conceive, some that had had a Cause to be heard before the Privy Council, or in the Star Chamber, had written these Names to help his own memory, to reckon who would be with him or against him. Immediately then I sent the said Allet to David Strachen, Servant to the Marquess of Hamilton, and bid him give that to his Lord from me immediately; which he said he did, and that his Lord read it, and put it in his Pocket.

These are the very express and formal words. which this Noble Gentlewoman, with a very frank and ingenious spirit, as I am bound to testifie of her. did dictate to me, in the presence of the above named: Whereby may appear to any reasonable creature, what a filly piece of malice this was, when Mr. Alexander Heatley, a Gentleman of fober Judgement, to whom the Roll was first fent, though that be concealed by Eglisham, did think it too frivolous to be fo much as once shewed to his Master, howsoever named therein. At this first Conference, as I was ready to depart, my Lord of Oldebare's Daughter defired of me a view of the Book, out of which I had read her some passages, wherein her Name was traduced; which could in no equity be denied. So I left it with her cill the next day, praying that I might then have her full Judgement of it : When repairing again unto her, the told me as freely as the reft, in the hearing of the fame company as before, except her Gentlewoman, that Eglisham had gone upon very flight grounds in fo great a matter.

The Copy of my Letter to the Duke about the fare Examination.

Send unto your Grace by this Bearer, Mr. Michael Branthwait, the Examination of the Lord of Oldebare's Daughter, touching the Roll of Names faid to be found in Westminster, of Great Personages, which were to be poisoned here, while you were in Spain: In the delivery whereof, I have been careful, as an Examiner, and Relater, to fet down nothing but her bare and free report; which is the Historical part: The Critical now remaineth; for after the examination of circumstances, there is a liberty of Judgement.

I have feen many defamatory and libellous things of this nature, abroad and at home; though for the most part always without truth, yet oftentimes contrived with some credibility: But this appeareth, in the whole contexture, utterly void of both, even though we had never known your Grace; nay, I will fay more, though we had known you to be as bad, and as black, as this Author would paint you. For first, the main ground upon which he would raise this defamation, is the forefaid Roll of Names, found, forfooth, not in a Cabinet, but in a dirty Street. Now, when we come to hunt it home, the authentical Instruments that should give it credit, are a Carman, and a Footman; till at last it came to Mr. Alexander Heatley: a Gentleman indeed (as I have conceived of him) of found abilities. Then what does he with it? Marry, He thought it to frivolous, that albeit it had patfed to him through the hands of a noble Gentlewoman of his own Country, yet he would

would not once trouble the late Duke of Richmond his Mafter fo much as with a fight of it, though his faid Master was one of the inrolled. Then, it comes back again, and the Gentlewoman conveyeth it by another hand to the late Marquess of Hamilton: What doth he with it? It fleeps in his Pocket. There, we are not only at a fault, in the Hunters-term; but at a rest, as if we were but playing at Tennis: I am forry to charge the memory of that Worthy Gentleman, to whom I was much bound for his favor. fo far as his Doctor hath laden him; that if he thought it more important than Mr. Heatley did, either by want of charity he would fmother to horrible a practice against the lives of at least a dozen of his Collegues in Privy-Council, or for want of courage not profecute his own Cause: Especially, your Grace (whose power this Pamphleter doth alledge for the impediment of all profecution) being then (as appeareth by the Examination) in Spain.

Much more might be faid upon the matter: but I value, not only your Graces, but mine own time at a greater price: Yet I have committed a remembrance or two to this Bearer; for whose sincerity I am bound to answer, because I did choose him for a Witness in the Examination. One scruple only I had in point of formality, Whether I should address this accompt or no to the Council Table, whence I received the Commission. But considering, that it came unto me, though by Order from thence, yet under the Kings trust; I have directed it to your hands, whom it most concerneth.

I had waited with it on your Grace in person, but that, in truth, some straitness by destillations in my brest, makes me resolve to enter anew into a

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little course of Physick. And so having discharged this duty according to my Conscience and capacity, I humbly leave your Grace in Gods Blessed Love; remaining,

Your Graces ever devoted and professed Servant,

#### HENRY WOTTON

#### 1626.

The Copy of my Letter to the Queen of Bohemia.

Most Resplendent Queen, even in the darkness of Fortune,

Most humbly falute Your Majesty again, after the longest filence that I have ever held with You, fince I first took into my-heart an Image of Your excellent Vertues. My thoughts indeed have from the exercise of outward duties been confined within my felf, and deeply wounded with mine own private griefs and loffes; which I was afraid, if I had written fooner to Your Majefty, before time had dryed them up, would have freshly bled And with what shall I now entertain Your again. fweet Spirits? It becomes not my weakness, to fpeak of deep and weighty Counfels, nor my privateness of great Personages: Yet because I know Your Majesty cannot but expect, I should fay fomewhat of the Duke of Buckingbam, whomall contemplate, I will begin there; and end in fuch comforts as I can suggest to Your present Estate: which shall be ever the Subject both of my Letters and of my prayers. But before I deliver my conceit of the said Duke, I must use a little Presace. I am two ways tyed unto him: First, for his singular Love to my never forgotten Albertus; therein likewise concurring with Your Majesties inestimable affection. Next, for mine own particular, I hold by his Mediation this poor place, as indeed, for the benefit, I may well call it, though not for the contentment: But if it were worth Millions, or Worlds, I protest unto Your Majesty (to whom I owe the bottom of my Heart). I would not speak otherwise of him, than I conceive. Therefore, setting aside both fears of Parliament, and hopes of Court, I will spend my opinion, which is all my freehold.

And truly (my most Gracious and Royal Miftress) I cannot weigh his Case without much Wonder: being one of the strangest (all considered) that I ever yet took into my fancy. Not, that the Commons affembled should fift and winnow the Actions even of the highest of the Nobility: Not, that an obscure Physician then among them (Ambitious of some Glory out of his own profession) should dare to give the first onset on so eminent a Personage: Not, that such a popular purfuit once begun by one, and feconded by a few other, should quickly kindle a greater Party. These are in their Nature no Marvels, nor Novelties. Neither can I greatly muse, that in a young Gentleman, during thirteen years of fuch prosperity and power, the heighth of his place exposing him to much observation and curiosity; the Lower House likewise opening the way to all kind of complaints, (as they did;) and examining nothing upon Oath, (as they never do;) there should be matter enough gleaned to make up thirteen Obiections,

jections, and none of heinous degree: For after fuch boltings to the quick, even among men of far meaner managements, I think there would be found every where fome Bran. Therefore I can pass all this over with easie belief. But there is a consideration or two, which do much confound my Judgment. First, for the matter it felf: That this very Noble man, who at the Parliament of 1622, was fo univerfally applauded and celebrated in every corner, as a great Instrument of the Publick good. (infomuch as for my part I conceived him then to be that which few or none had been before in all Ages, No less Favorite, I mean, to the People, than to the King) should now be purfued with these diflikes, when for the most part the very same Objectors were in the forefaid Parliament, and the very fame Objections (except one or two) might as well then have been alledged: This is, I must confess to my understanding a Labyrinth. Again, When (from the matter turning to the Person) I view the fairness and equality of his temper and carriage, I can in truth descry in his own Nature, no Original excitement of fuch distaste, which commonly arifeth, not so much from high Fortune, as from high looks. For I most ingeniously avow unto your Majesty, that among all the Favorites which mine eyes have beheld in divers Courts, and times, I never faw before a ftrong Heart, and eminent condition, fo clearly void of all Pride and Swelling Arrogancy, either in his Face or in his Fashion.

These are partly the Reasons that make me wonder, how such offence should grow like a mushroom in a night. But there is one thing above all other that hath strucken deepest into my mind, and made me fee, how the greatest men have this unfortunate adjunct in their felicity, to be fometimes obnoxious to the foulest and fallest reports whereof in the person of this very Duke himself, I shall lay a monstrous example before your Majesty, out of mine own particular knowledge and employment.

It pleased my Sovereign now being, to direct unto me hither a Commission to examine my Lord of Oldebare's Daughter, by name Mistress Anne Lion (I think fometimes not unknown unto your Majesty) then resident at Windsor, about an abominable Pamphlet published and printed towards the time of the last Parliament, in divers Languages, by one Doctor Eglisham, a Scottish Physition, who therein chargeth the Duke of Bucking bam with fuch trifles as thefe: The death of the Marquess Hamilton, his near Friend and Ally; the death of our late King, of ever bleffed memory, his most dear Master; the intended deaths of divers Councellors of State, his Affociates: painting, in effect, a nature far beyond that of Richard the Third, when he was Duke of Glocester. And for a Witness hereof he traduceth the foresaid Gentlewoman, or rather as the main ground of his whole Book: which occasioned her examination, at the Dukes pursuit against himself; whereof I fend your Majesty a Copy herewith, as I took it from her own free delivery; wherein you shall fee a bare Note of a few Councellors Names, found at first, not in the Dukes Cabinet, but in the very kennel of King-street by a Car-man, Servant to a Woodmonger: Secondly, by him brought to a Foorman; by which Honorable degrees it came to the Gentlewoman all dirty. And at last, it is turned

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by this Doctor into Bill of Perfonages to be poyfoned, out of a very charitable interpretation then reigning in him. I am doubtful, what paffion it will most flir in your Majesty, when you read the Circumstances; whether meer laughter at such a ridiculous slander, or a noble indignation at so desperate Impudency. And so not to stay any longer upon this Cobweb, I will end with such comforts as I propound to my self in contemplation of your pre-

fent being.

The first shall be a general impression which we have taken of his Majesties Nature: And it is this, That he is not only (to confider him absolutely in his own composition) of singular Vertue and Piety, and refolution in good; but likewife (to confider him relatively) he is an excellent Husband, Brother, and Friend. I call Favourites the Friends of Kings, as your Majesty (who is so well versed in the best of Books) knows I may do with very good warrant: For was not Hushai the Archite fo styled to David, and after him Zahud to Schomon? Nay, had not the Highest of all Examples, in the time of his Humane lowness, both among the living a Beloved that lay on his Bosom, and another also whom he calls his Friend, even when he called him from the dead? Thus much I could not abstain to let fall from my pen, by the way, against all murmurers at any fingularity of affection, which abound both in States and Families. But of these three Relations, I will now only contemplate that which respecteth your Majesty; which indeed is as clear and visible as the rest: For furely all the Parliaments that our most Gracious Sovereign hath hitherto affembled, and all the Actions that he hath undertaken abroad, either of himself or by combinabinations, and his private Counfels at home, have principally levelled at your fupport and reftorement; as the Deliberations likewife that went before, in the latter time of your most blessed Father. So as your Majesty, in the justness of your Cause, and in the sweetness of your Nature, doth stand firmly invested in both the Titles of as beloved a Sister as you were a Daughter. And I am consident, that our living and loving God, who did accept the zeal of your Royal Brother, and bless his own and the publick devotions at home, with almost a miraculous Conversion of the infirmity which raged, into Health, and of the sterility which was feared, into plenty; will likewise find his own good time to favor our pursuits abroad.

Your Majesty's second comfort, is the universal love of all good Minds. To which I may justly add, a particular zeal in him who is nearest his Majesty, to soment his best desires towards you; which he hath expressed fundry times within my hearing.

The last and inwardest Consolation that I can represent unto your Majesty, is your self, your own Soul, your own Virtues, your own Christian constancy and magnanimity: Whereby your Majesty hath exalted the glory of your Sex, conquered your Affections, and trampled upon your adversities. To conclude, you have shewed the World, that though you were born within the chance, yet without the power of fortune.

And so having sought to redeem so long a silence, I fear, with too long a trouble; I will promise your Majesty to commit no more of the former fault,

fault, and humbly beg your pardon for the other: ever and ever remaining,

Your Majestie's poor Servant, with all humble and hearty Devotion,

H. WOTTON.

To my most dear and worthy Friend, Mr. John Dinely, at the Hague.

My ever most dear Jack Dinely,

The Queen's last Letter (wherewith her Majesty did too much honour me) coming when my voices of any value were no more in mine own power, was nearer a torment than a surprizal. It shall teach me to reserve my self, as wifer Men do, for such supervenient Temptations, I must consess, above all strength, if the least possibility had been lest. It is true, I could have given him a latter place; but in that, I should have disgraced the suiter, and disrespected the Commander. I have therefore rather chosen to put him in the Vanguard the next year, being the Son of a Souldier, than now in the Reer. And this is the summ of my humble answer to her Majesty, though in other terms.

Your Anthony (who is my Guest every Saturday night) is well grown in Stature, and more in Knowledge. I verily believe he will prove both a wise and learned Man, and certainly good. We have passed over quocung; modo the most troublesome Pp 2 Election,

Election, that, I think, was here ever feen. Wherein, according to my usual Fashion, I have lost four or five Friends, and yet I thank God, not gotten the value of one *Harrington*: So as they are angry at me on the one side, and they laugh at me on the other. If my most gracious Mistress will in her goodness be pleased to drown her displeasure till the next turn, I shall chearfully in the mean time, bear the weight

of mine own fimplicity.

I have gotten, with much adoe, fome of the Pfalms translated by my late most blessed Master, for the young Prince of Bohemia, (which is one of your Memorials that have slept too long by me) and I have ransacked mine own poor Papers for some entertainment for the Queen: which shall be sent together. Though it be now a Missery to re-visit the Fancies of my Youth, which my judgement tells me, are all too green, and my Glass tells me, that my self am gray. Till my next, let me trouble you no farther. The love of God be with us, and we are well.

From the College at midnight, the 12. of August, 1628.

Your poor true Friend,

H. WOTTON.

I hear that one hath offered to the Prince of Orange an Invention of discoursing at a great distance by

Lights: It is true.

A Noble Lady who is desirous to bestow her Son at Leyden, would fain be first informed, what commodity for education the place doth yield: wherein you shall do me and her a great favor.

To my very worthy and ever dear Friend, Mr. John Dinely, at the Hague.

My ever dear Jack Dinely,

TOUR last of the 6th. of October were welcom beyond all expression: intimating a hope that I shall see your felf shortly; which will be mille Epistole. I do not see how you can fail of the thing whereof you write, if you come quickly. The Letter in your behalf from our Royal Mistress to his Majesty here, is too faint, being moulded in your own modesty: Therefore, I have a little invaded it, with fome violence unto you. When you confult with me about the Perfonage that should First, or Second, or Tertiate your business with the King, I must answer as Demostbenes did of Action; My Lord Threforer, My Lord Threforer, and so again. We contemplate him, not only in the Quality of his Place, but already in some degree of a Privado; and even the fresh introducement of Sir F. Cottington to the Council-Table, is no fmall Argument of his Strength, though otherwise a Subject of Merit.

I hear likewise, that his own Foreign Imployments have given him a great taste of things abroad. So as you will not find him incurious to discourse with you: And I verily believe, that he will take an Address of you from the Queen unto him, as the principal Personage, to the Heart; wherein, rethinks, it were fit and proper, that her Maje yould be pleased likewise to favor you with some lines to my Lord Conaway, because they were joyned in Ambassage unto Her at Prage. This is

all that I shall need to say, till your own coming. Your little Anthony prospers extreamly well; and I dare now say, he will prove a good Scholar. And so being in truth in no very chearful Disposition at the present, but newly come out of two or three sits of an Ague, I will trouble neither of us both any further: ever resting,

From London, ready to return to my Coll. at Eton, this 12. of Nov. 1628.

Your poor professed Friend, HENRY WOTTON.

If the Queen have not heard the Epitaph of Albertus Morton and his Lady, it is worth her hearing, for the passioAuthoris Incerti.

He first deceased. She for a little tryed To live without him: liked it not and dyed,

#### POSTSCRIPT.

In a Letter under this date to her Majesty, I conclude with a Supplication, that she will be pleased to receive a Page, at the joynt suit of the House of Bacons: A Boy of singular Spirits, without aggravation of her charge; for he shall want, no means to maintain himself in good Fashion about so Royal a Mistress. I pray heartily further this motion, and be in it your self, Nuncins Latitiarum,

Part of a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Portland (ut videtur.)

THis is the reckoning of my unpleasant time. I whereby your Lordship fees, that my filence hath been a fymptom (as I may termit) of my infirmity, from all outward respects and duties, contracting my thoughts about my felf. But can that ferve my turn? No in troth (my good Lord:) For I should while my felf was in Contemplation, have remembred, that I was bound to congratulate with your Lordship even for mine own fake, especially when I found by the long use of two or three Physicians, the exhaustion of my Purfe, as great as other evacuations. It would breed Wrinckles in my Face, if I should stay any longer upon this point. I will chear my felf, that your Lordship did love me, even before I was so worthy of your Compassion. I have tasted the benefit of your discourse, I have enjoyed your hospitality, I have been by your favor one of your familiar Guelts, I have had leave to interchange some good tales and stories in your company, and to exercise my natural freedom. Besides, we have been conjoyned in a serious business. wherein, I do even yet hope for fome good by your means: So as I have had in your Lordship the interests both of earnest, and of pleasant Conversation, which gives me the boldness to assure my self, that I am still not only within your Lordship's Remembrance, but likewise within your loving care.

But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds.

#### To the King, 1628.

#### May it please your most Sacred Majesty,

It is more to be bound to your Majesty's judgement, than to be bound to your Favor. Therefore, I do not only joy, but glory (though still with humble acknowledgement and feeling what my self am) that you have been pleassed (as I understand from my Lord of Dorchester) to apply my Pen to so Noble an end: being consident, that the very care, not to disgrace your Majesty's good pleasure, and indulgent choice of me, will invigorate my weakness. But before I enter into the Description of others Actions and Fortunes (which require a free Spirit) I must present at your Royal Feet, and even claim from your natural equity and goodness, such Compensation, (as it shall please

you) in that which followeth.

I served the King your Father of most blessed memory, from the time he sent for me, at the beginning of his Reign, out of France (retaining then some gracious Remembrance of my Service with him in Scotland) twenty years, that is, almost now a third part of my Life, in ordinary and extraordinary Imployments abroad. I had many comfortable Letters of his contentment, or at least, of his gracious Toleration of my poor endeavers: And I had under his own Royal Hand, two bopes in Reversion. The sirst, a moiety of a six Clerks place in Chancery. The next, of the Office of the Rolls it self. The first of these, I was forced to yield to Sir William Peecher, upon the late Duke of Buckingham's former engagement unto him by promise, even after your Majesty had been pleased to

intercede for me, with your said ever blessed Father. And that was as much in value, as my Provostship were worth at a Market. The other of the Reversion of the Rolls, I surrendered to the said Duke in the Gallery at Willingford House, upon his own very instant motion (the said Duke then intending it, upon the now Attorney, Sir Robert Heath) though with serious promise, upon his Honor, that he would procure me some equivalent recompence, before any other should be settled in the place.

The truth of my humble claim, and of his fincere Intentions towards me, I present herewith unto your Majesty, in

a Letter all under his own hand.

I could likewise remember unto your Majesty, the losses I have sustained abroad, by taking up Moneys, for my urgent use, at more than twenty in the hundred; by casualty of sire, to the damage of near four hundred pounds in my particular; by the raising of Moneys in Germany, whereby my small allowance (when I was sent to the Emperor's Court) fell short sive hundred pounds, as Seignor Burlamachi too well knoweth; and other ways.

Now for all this (that I may not press your Majesty with immoderate desires) I most humbly beg from your Royal Equity, and I may say, from your very compassion, but two things; First, that your Majesty will be pleased, in disposing of the Rolls (to which I was assigned) to reserve for me some small proportion, towards the discharge of such debts as I contracted in publick service, yet remaining upon Interest. Next, That you will be likewise pleased to promise me, the next good Deanry, that shall be wacant by death or remove: whereof I also had a promise from your blessed Father then at Newmarket, and am now more capable thereof in my present Condition. And thus shall your Majesty restore me, both to the freedom of my thoughts, and of my! fe; otherwise so intri-

eated, that I know not how to unfold it. And so with my continual Prayers to the Almighty, for His dearest and largest Blessings upon Your Royal Person; I ever rest,

White Hall, Feb.12 Styl vet. 1628. Your Majesty's most faithful poor Subject and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

# To my most Worthy Friend Mr. John Dinely Esq; at Boston in Lincolnshire.

My dear Jack Dinely,

You see I keep my familiarity, though you be the Governor of Princes: And I see by your Letter, that I am every where in your remembrance, even where so many natural pledges divide you. The Parliament is since your going, dissolved by the King upon such reason, as in good faith, all sober minds must approve, even while they wish it otherwise. Never was there such a morning, as that which occasioned the dissolution, since Phaeson did guide his Fathers Charot.

We are now cheared with some Foreign News: but I am still forry, that we must fetch our comfort from abroad, and from the discords of ualy, instead instead of the harmony of England. Our Lords sit often, and were never more close: insomuch as it is as hard to get any thing out of the Counsel Cham-

ber as out of the Exchequer.

Sir Henry Vane is fuddenly fent extraordinary Ambassador to the Hague; with the more wonder, because Sir Robert Carr is yet there, omni par negotio. The others having been Cofferer, breeds some conjecture that the business is pecuniary. Nothing is yet done about the Rolls, and those other places in sequence: And my Lord of Bristol's re-entry into the Court (who the last week carried the Sword before the King) filleth us with new discourse, as if he should be restored to the Vice-Chamberlain-ship, which yet lyeth amortized in your Noble Friend.

Mine own businesses stand as they did: And the best is, they are rather stationary then retrograde. I pray remember my hearty Affection to your worthy Brother, and give him the best hope of his Anthony. And so languishing for you again, I commit

you all to Gods dear love.

March 11.

Your faithfullest poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

To the Same.

My Sweet and dear Jack Dinely,

Am come newly from those Ladies, who think themselves more lovely than before, and perhaps than they are, ever since I shewed them your Cha-

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Character of their Beauties, in your Letter from the Gally-Gravefend. Never was a Town better Epitheted. They all remember themselves extream kindly unto you. While I was there, I should have written Letters provisionally to go with Mr. Griffith: But my Brains are even yet in some distraction among good Ideas, whereby I am put now to write these, and other that go with them, in hast: For my said Friend hath given me warning that he shall be gone to morrow morning from London.

I have written to our Royal Mystress, upon a touch in your last, (which found me at Boston) that I had now fent her my Niece Stanbop's Picture in little, if an express Messenger sent for it, the very night before I came away, by my Lord of Chefterfield (to whom it was promised) had not ravished it out of my Pocket. But I shall have it in a greater form at my return thither immediately after our Election; which will begin to morrow feven-night: And the Friday morning following Sir George Kever's Son is in the head of our Lift; For Lentum est, to fay he shall be, after your late refreshment of the Queens Commands. Sir Edmund Bacen was likewife with me at Boston: when your Letter fo over-joyed him, that he called in the very instant for some Paper to send for the spiritous Frank Bacon from Redgrave. And Seneviene volando, as fast as he can trick him up for the Souldier. Of whom I will write more by himself. For to discharge the thanks that are due for him, is no fudden business. To return to Mr Griffith; No man living ever took a kinder impression than he hath done of his Obligations towards you: And it is indeed a piece of his Character, to take the leaft kindkindness to heart. He knows all news. You have him now in your Hands. And God be between you both.

Your poor Friend fuifceratiffimamente,

H. WOTTON.

To my most worthy dear Friend Mr. John Dinely Attendant on the young Prince at Leyden.

From the College the 16. of August, 1629.

My fweet Jack Dinely,

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WE have newly concluded our Anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted Election that I verily believe had ever before been seen, since this Nurse first gave Milk, through no less than four recommendatory, and one mandatory Letter from the King himself; besides Intercessions and Messengers from divers great Personages for Boys both in and out, enough to make as think our selves shortly Electors of the Empire, if it hold on. Among which Confusions, I did not furget (as I have written to your Royal Mistress) to put Sir G. Kevet's Son in the head of our List.

After this, which I have truly told you, you cannot well expect many lines from me: for as the Seas require some time to settle, even when the winds are ceased, so need our brains after such an Agitation; yet somewhat I must say by this Bearer. Yet have getten a great interest in the

whole.

whole Family, and in all that touch upon it, by the pains which you have taken, and yet they reserve themselves not to be more beholden to you for the Introduction, than they hope to be for your Direction of him there; though he comes, I can tell you, with severe advice from his Uncle, that if ever he be an inch from the Eye of the Prince, (unless with the Queen) either in time of security or danger; Actum est; between them. We leave him now to your moulding, as if he were (as he is indeed) to be melt in a new surface: there is spirit enough to work upon, though perchance overshadowed with some rural modesty; but that among Camps and Courts is now and then too soon divested. I shall be glad to hear how he appeareth di prima vista; as likewise of little Griffith, after whom I hearken with no less Affection.

Dum verser in hac materia: I could wish you at some times to quicken your Anthony here with a line or two; which in Persius phrase, Patruum sapiant: Not truly that I perceive any slackness in him, but you know what our Italian Horsem n say, Un Caval del Reguo vuol an-

che gli fproni.

We are divided by sundry reports from you, between hopes and fears, both great; your next will easens: which will find in Kent, whether I am turning my Head again for a while, that I my be present at may Niece Stanhop's

in good time.

My Niece Hester is absolutely reclaimed from those foolish Impressions which she had taken God's Name be ever blefsed for it; and it is none of the least ends of my going to rivet that business. Ihope at the next Term to do some wonders for my self; so I call them, and so they must be if I do them: for among Courtiers I am a wonder, as Owls are among gay Birds. Now far wel for the present: let us still love on another, and our dear God loves us both.

Your trueft poor Friend, H. W.

I had made it a Resolution to my self never to write to the Queen, without somewhat likewise to the King; but understanding that they are now separated, I have this time forborn to trouble him in so noble an Action.

To my most dear and worthy Friend Mr. John Dinely, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia.

My dear J. Dinely,

For I am loth to lose the possession of our familiarity; you less me here your Letters and your Love in deposito, and I have since received other from you, somewhat of a sad Complexion, touching the Affairs of Germany as then they stood: But more newly we hear, that Barbard of Weinmer doth miracles upon the Danuby, the River sometimes of our merry passage.

We wish in this House ( where you have placed me with much contentment ) that every Mole hill that he takes were a Province; and that the Duke of Bavaria were not only fled to Saltzburg(as is voiced) but even to the Capital of Rome, and all others with

him, that adore the purple Beaft.

Here we live in dayly (fed boc lentum est) let me fay, in hourly (quin & illud frigidum) nay in continual remembrance of our Royal Mistress, the very Triumph of Virtue. I have at the present written to her Majesty, as I shall do often, being now in the proper place of her Addresses, and of such opportunity to express our Zeals, as hath left a lazy Pen no imaginable excuse hereafter.

Through your hand I now fend her my late Panegyrick, which I bluth to tell you how well it takes

takes here with fome indulgent and merciful Readers.

The Interpretation to her Majesty of as much therein as concerneth her felf, I can commit to no spirit more sweetly, than to yours, who are so con-

verfant with her vertues.

With us here things ftand as you left them. Most indubitably an infinite Affection in the King towards fo precious an only Sister: But I know not well how our Times will fort with your Propositions. Yet I hope well, as Abraham did, when he wanted a Sacrifice, Deus providebit. And so for this time, in consused hast I rest,

From you know where, Dec. 10.

Your ever vowed poor Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

I have written to the Queen touching James Vary, who commits himself to your Affectionate Memory: And we languish for a return from you.

I pray remember my humble Service to his Majeflie's most worthy Resident with you, to whom and to my Noble Secretary I will write by the next Occasion.

SIR,

Am glad of this opportunity to acquaint you, before your going, with the cause why Mr. Avery's Son did fail at our late Election.

When the Boy came before us, being asked the ordinary Questions, Quod est tibi Nomen? Quot Annos natus es? Quo Anni tempore? Quo Comitatu?

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Quo Oppido? Quave Villa? (To all which his Anfwers must remain upon Record in our Indentures of that year, if he be chosen) he stopped a little at the two last; and then (as if he had meant to fuffer like a Martyr for the Truth) he told us flatly, That he was born in the Low-Countreys at Delft. This retrenched all farther Examination of him; for thereby he was intelligible, our Statutes only admitting the English Shires, with exclusion, not only of Ireland and Scotland, but even of Wales: and much more of any Foreign Province. Hereupon we called in his Father, who handsomely skirmished in his behalf, That Children born of English Parents in the Staples of Merchants abroad, were by an Act of Edward the third, habilited to all purposes at home, as well as the inward Natives. And thereupon he went and took Council of Mr. Newbury, Steward of Windfor, and no obscure Lawyer, who did fet down his Judgment in writing clearly for him, That all Local Statutes are void which are either against the Common Law, or against a general precedent Statute, as he said this was. Now although we could have been glad all to be left as free as your Armenians leave our Will; yet confidering that our Local Statutes were long after the forefaid Act of Habilities, and that how invalid foever they may appear to fome other man, yet that they bind us at least in Conscience, especially after fo long Custom. These points I say confidered, the last good will we could express towards the Father, was to offer him (as I did) to propound the Case to my Lord of Canterbury, our Visitor Paramount, and now in Ordinary (the Bishop of Lincoln being in an unvisitable Case himself) that fo his Grace might relieve him with his Inter-

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pretation: wherein I got the Provost of Kings to concur with me; and fo I drew a Letter with all possible advantage on his fide, inclosing therein the favorablest Branch of our Statutes. This Letter Mr. Avery carried to Croyden with paternal Affection and Haft, and brought us back an Answer to this fubstance; That though his Grace should be heartily willing in respect of the Fathers relation to her Majesty of Bobemia (as I had represented him) to do any thing for the Child: yet being a binding Precedent against Custom he could not fuddenly determine the Point, being at that time without Civil Lawyers, by whose advice his Court was guided: And therefore if we would defer our Election till Michaelmas, he would then orderly decide it. But we being by other Statutes bound not to prolong our Election an hour after fuch a time as was already near fpent, and to tell you in Sinu, being loth to leave our felves fo long upon Interpretation, we gave it over. I understand fince a circumstance that must needs trouble Mr. Avery more than the Business it felf: That it failed by his fault, and not the Boys. For after our Usher (the Childs Tutor) had inftructed him, That by no means he should confess his Foreign Birth, his Father, whom the Boy had not acquainted with his Tutors Instruction, not knowing our Statutes, bad his Son answer, when he should be asked the last Question, That he was born in Comitatu Hollandia; and fo the Child trufting his Father more than his Tutor, fell through the Basket.

With this Story I have entertained you at large, because, besides my zeal towards any thing that our Royal Mistress can wish to be done, I wasengaged gaged in a promife to your felf, whom I will follow with Letters to her Majesty by the conveyance of Sir Abra. Williams, and with a little Nuptial Present to your felf, which you had had with you, if a Friend of mine, who should have made it ready, had not been skared from London. And yet (to shew you my poverty) it is only a pair of Sheets which I mean to send, with this Mark at the corners, PRODINLEIANIS. In the mean while, God hold you and your Love in his Love, wherein after the uncertain Traverses of Courts below, dwelleth all Abundance and Infallibility above.

Dictated from my Bed, August 18. By your ever the same
affectionate poor Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

To Mr. John Dinely, at Westminster.

SIR,

I Understand by your last kind lines that you were to be at Court as to morrow; so as I bope by our next Foot-Post to hear the Criss of that day: and am sorry to hear in the mean time that your dreams were impropisious. We had here taken a voice and strong belief coming from a Recusant, (who know many things, and quickly) that the Insanta Queen of France was brought to hed of a Dolphin, and not of a Distass. But your Letter saying nothing either of the one or of the other, I have suspended my faith.

London is the Ocean of Novelties: Here we speak of nothing but a certain new Aguish disease, which invad-

eth many Families, but with little mortality.

The Plague at Dover is by Gods blessing ceased, and their Tents taken down. At Boughton the Small Pox fallen sirst upon a Chaplain, and after, upon one of the fair Faces, but a Deering; will keep me, I doubt, from that place: Not that I apprehend any Contagions what sever (as I think you know) but the Winter coming on, and the Place bleat, a small excuse will serve my turn. Gcd send you all comfort in your first and second self: To whose goodness I leave you, resting,

From the Palace by Canterbury, August last, 1638. Your most affectionate
Alla Suiscerata,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,

TExt your own and your dear Conforts health. I languish to hear of your first reception at Court For though I suppose it was short, yet we Philosophers fay, that Principia plus valent virtute quam mole. Next that I pray let me know your opinion of the prodigious escape of the Queen Mother of France, out of the Spanish clutches to the Hague: And whether she be trajectura, as our right worthy Friend Dr. Dorislans writeth me. I am come hither in a very benign Constellation, and silent conspiracy of my chiefest Friends that have met here at the fame time; Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir Francis Barnham, and Sir Thomas Culpepper: All, men of fingular conversation; and some of them, though of the same County, yet that had not been here in feven years before. Of which, my Nephew, Sir Edmund, and my felf are to pass this next week under the Roof of my Lord Chief Justice Finch, at his House of More close by, through his Noble and unrefiftable Importunity. God keep us in his Love, wherein is all joy and abundance,

From the Palace by Canterbury, this St. Bartholomew's day 1638.

Your ever most affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON.

Send you inclosed the preparation of Guajacus, as I have found incomparable benefit thereby, I expect in exchange the Letter touching the Dutchess de Chereuse. I am in great perplexity by hearing no News of Nicholas Oudard fince the first of September Stylo novo from Bruxels: being that afternoon to go to Mechelen with a Letter of Authority for his prefent dispatch; so as he wrote, he would either fend me word, if any impediment should intervene; or bring the first Newshimself. Besides, Monsieur Gerbier thought his business in so fair a way, as he left a Maid there to come over in the company of himfelf, and his Mother, When I lay these things together, I can make no good interpretation of it: Yet I will not anticipate and prejudge mine own mishaps, as I should account the loss of him, whom I have trained from a Child. God grant all be well. If you could meet with Monsieur Gerbier and enquire whether he hath heard any thing, it would much ease my heart one way or other. And fo leaving you in the Lord's protection, I reft,

From the College, Septemb. 26. 1638.

Your true Friend,

in omni fortuna,

HINRY WOTTON.

Was glad for all the private in a late Letter from you, and forry for the publick, both Foreign, and inward: But I like Plato's Counsel well; In adversities to compress murmur: For our Providence (faith be) is too short to judge, whether there may not lye under the outside of an apparent evil some in-imaginable good. The last Philosophy is, Voluntas tua fiat Domine. Upon bearing, some good while since, of the misadventures in the Palatine House; his loss of Meppen, before he had it; the defeat of his Troops, as soon as he had gathered them, the taking of his Brother, &C. I fell upon a conceit, that perchance these unpleasant things might call over Sir R. Cave; the Prince being destitute of Counsel, and of proper Instruments of Action, (for they say, Ferentz is likewise Prisoner.) And so there would be room here for your Imployment: which I would wish you to pressextremely. But of this more in my next. Inow send you an Hogshead of more than Soror Tonantis, and very willingly, though folong after March you take us Sul baffo. But one thing I must tell you, that for your Wives Splenetique Infirmity, there is nothing worse in the World than either strong or stale Beer. Now, that we have you out of the Streights and in the Ocean (as you call it) both of Novelties as well as of other things, Matthew Saye shall have order to call upon you at least once a week. And for the present I leave you in his Love that never faileth: remaining,

From the College this Thursday morning, 1638. Your very truly affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON

BEtween you and me Complemental Letters are as needless and improper, as I hope, the provisions of Armour in the Tower will be. As for Novelties of State, you are in the Center, and we rural Weights in the Circumference, and Skirts, entertained with nothing but some cold icesickles and droppings from you Londoners: Imagine us therefore to stand gaping for the return of the Lord Marquess. In the mean while I should be glad to know in what quality my Nephew Colonel Morton is imployed towards the North; for I hear of one Serjeant Major Thelwel in more noise. And so intending (as soon as it can be ready) to entertain you with a strange Collar of Brawn, I rest,

This Epiphany, 1638.

Ever your own,

HENRY WOTTON.

MY Pen hath not converfed with you for certe. Gite of our Boat a pretty while; not wanting affection, but matter. You are in the Center of Novelties. God fend all well, as I have no doubt it will be at last. I am within some few weeks tending to my Genial Soyl at Boughton Malberb; and thence about by Redgrave I shall make a Circle hither again, taking perchance both Universities in my Line homewards. You married men are deprived of these evagations. While we fland in a little suspense touching the event of inward Affairs; I am glad to hear from abroad in the High Dutch Gazette, that there is a Treaty of Exchange in hand between Prince Rupert, and Prince Casimer of Poland, whom the Swedes have in custody. Methinks, it is a pretty balanced intention, and of no improbable iffue; the King of Hungaria (alias Emperor) growing every day lower, and lower. I defire much to know how your vertuous Confort standeth in her health, and how your felf proceedeth in your hopes; refting,

From the College, Feb. 21. 1638.

Semper, Semper Tuns,

HENRY WOTTON.

Chariffime,

. Am forry to hear of new Oaths in Scotland between the Covenanters, who they fay will have none but Jesus Christ to Reign over them: A Sacred Cover of the deepest Impiety. God open their eyes, and foften their hearts. I have read a good part of the Declaration, wherein the Dean of Durbam's Pen doth well appear: and the whole business is very black. Never was there fuch a stamping and blending of Rebellion and Religion together. I thank you for your news touching Prince Rupers; but I fear the Hungarian King will hold him too fast. To your Question about mine own Remove, it will be towards the ending of this week for a night or two to London; fo as I hope to fave you the Labour of journeying hither. My Lodging, if it be not prepoffessed, will be at Mr. Alkind's House in the Strand, or otherwise peradventure with your Friend in Lombard-street, whereof you shall have notice in time.

I am yours every where,

From the College April 21. 1639.

H. WOTTON.

SIR

SIR,

I should be forry for your departure towards our Royal Mistreis, before some short meeting at least between us: for I have much discourse to unlade in your honest brest; and I can tell you, we had need lay up discourse safely; which I hope you will take for some excuse of my seldom writing unto you: for I suspect a certain natural freedom in mine own Pen.

In the Scottish Affairs, it is one mystery, that we know not what to believe. Only this we can fay, That there is nothing to be praised in it on their part; and I could wish, there were as little to be feared on ours. Deus operatur omnin suaviter: And to his Power and Mercy we must leave our selves.

Your ever faithful poor Friend,

From the College April 17. 1639.

H. WOTTON.

Sir, My Coach-man is yet crazy, from a late great fickness; but if it please you to specifie the time of your conveniency, my Geldin shall wait upon you at Bramford; Apoints nomme.

I long now to hear of nothing more than a little Deynleiolus; and if it prove of another Gender in Grammar, then let Philosophy comfort you, that says, It is Nature's method to begin ab Imperfection: But by my contemplation of your own, and your Wife's complexion, and of her late sickness, I should imagine that Fortion pars trabet sexum.

We are forry to hear that the Scotish Gentlemen, who have been lately sent to that King, sound (as they say) but a brusk welcome; which makes all fear; that there may be a rebullition in that busi-

nefs.

We have a new ftrange voice flying here, that

the Prince Palatine is towards a Marriage.

I apprehend much the event of your new Ambaffage from the States, being carried by a man who hath had his whole fortune out of France; but the widom of the Instrument may mollifie all. I should be glad to know, whether his Son in law Constantinus Hugeinus be in his company. Lastly, I should be glad to hear that you are un tantino promoved in your own ends; for when the first way is plained, all will go smoothly. Let us howsoever love one another, and God love us both.

Your poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

SIR.



#### of to Sir F A

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Sir HENRY WOTTON's

## LETTERS

TO THE

### Lord Zouch.

Collected from the Originals, and Never pubhished till this present year, 1685.



Printed for Benj. Tooke at the Ship in St. Paul's Church-yard, and Tho. Sambridge, at three Flower-de-luces in Little Britain. 1685. Sir HENET WOTTON'S

## LETTERS

IOIHE

## Lord Zouch.

Collected from the Originals, and Mever pub-

Prietri for Frag. Kerfran die San in St. Preis Geboorte van de Tro Samerale, an dies Erichte feuren Lawa Donne 1685.

### To the most Honourable Lord, the Lord Zouch, at Altorph.

Odober 27. 1590. Ingolstade.

Most Honourable,

Honour, I crave Pardon to intreat thus much; That whatfoever I shall be bold by the like means at any time to utter unto your Honour, it may please you to accept no otherwise than spoken with unseigned Troth and Faith toward you. You have (My Lord) so far above mine own Deserts, held me worthy of your Honours Love, and charg'd your self so much with shewing it, as wheresoever I am, I must ever live in the dear remembrance of your good Favour, and be glad with all Service to

testifie my regard of it.

I have deliver'd your Honour's Letters, and for their sake have been right friendly entertained. The Doctor to whom they were directed, I found in his Lodging, plac'd very fitly and well in my Opinion, and the day of my coming was the third of his reading. Mannering return'd the Evening before to his Master. They are both preparing for England. The man lent for them I was acquainted with before at Brownswick, when I came up the Country, where he gave himself forth for a Merchant, and his Trade at Venice. Now he tells me that his farthest Journey then was to this Town. Oportet Mendacem effe memorem. I affure your Honour, he brought Letters of dangerous advice to the Son, from the Father then; and not much better in the purpose of his REZ coming

coming now; otherwise the Gentleman might be fent for by a less chargeable means, than a man over the Country. The Students tell me he never spares our Queen in his common Table Discourse, but rails impatiently upon her, as having detain'd from his Father, without any Cause but her own Pleasure, the use of his Goods and Livings, no doubt upon this ground, giving himself forth for a Baron; (which I understand here of him) some cause must be alleged why he maintains not the state of it; which Objection is very thoroughly answered, that the Queen detains the Money that should do it. He invited me to Supper, and as I came at five to his Chamber to inquire him out, he sent me down word by the Maid that he was not above. The Cardinal di Santa Severina is Pope, and furnamed Julins the fourth. The Jesuit Colledge here is advertis'd the News from Rome, where their Rector is at this present to salute him in the Name of the whole Society.

Other Occurrences, worthy your Honours hearing, we have none. The particulars of the Election, if the Town afford it, your Honour shall be advertised from Vienna. And thus (My Lord) commending my self with all Duty to your honourable good Favour and Opinion of me; I beseech God to accomplish unto your Honour, in their best time, the noble Desires of your own Heart, and so in haste most

humbly take my leave.

Written in thankfullest Duty and Regard toward your Honour at Engolstade this 27 of Ottober 1590. Style of Rome.

Your Honours in all Service,

HENRY WOTTON.

Novem-

## November 20. 1590. Vienna.

Most Honoured Lord,

TAving from Engolfade advertis'd your Honour the State I found the Town in, after my rude manner then; it is my Duty to continue the like fervice from hence in some little better fort. I came to Vienna the eleventh of this Month, being St. Martins Day. Your Honour understands well the course of the Journey with your own experience; for our parts that travell'd it now, we faw nothing more than ordinary. The second day after my landing here. I delt with Petching concerning fit room to lodge your Honour in his House, and received anfwer, he had lately entertained a Stranger in the Chamber he made promise of; to provide your Honouras well otherwise, if that place be not youd at your coming, he will take the care upon him. The first man in England he asked me for was my Father, to whose House he often reforted, being then in the service of my Uncle; by that means I can do something with him but have-him so far. as I dare affirm unto your Honour, he is noman. How I shall find this Town for charges of Table, I can fay nothing, being as yet come to no certainty that way. Thus I have learnt, that Students are forc'd here to live with better fare than they would. The Reason is manifest, because, as the times are, a man may with more gain keep an Ordinary of feven Messes at a Duckat a Person weekly, than of four at a Floryn: for the Dutch will drink the like at both, and Meat is cheap with us, but the Wine dear; so, though in these East-parts there be Rr3

more plenty of all things generally than in the Center of the Realm, where your Honour lives, yet am I likely to find little help in that; unless I would table my felf after the manner of hab, which I stand yet in some question upon. I had to this Town eight Letters of commendation, which fignifie unto your Honour, because one of them was from D. Gifanius to the Master of the Imperial Library, and one effect of your Honours Favour to him in my behalf; two other were directed to Persons of more Authority, the one to the Emperors Receiver, the other to a principal Man in his Majesties Favour, and chief in the ---- chosen unto it upon his sufficiency in Matters of State and Government, though his Religion be contrary. With this Gentleman I have remained ever fince free from all Expences, and have friendly Liberty granted me to continue it, will he hath provided me with some Learned manthat I may apply my self to my Study. Of my Estate otherwise I have nothing more to advertise your Honour, fave that I live right well contented, and (as I am with your most favourable Love shew'd towards me bound ever ) at your Honours Service and commandment. The Estate and Occurrences of the present are thus. Matthias, one of the Arch-Dukes of Austria, bath been Governour of this Town some fix Weeks. He was call'd hither from his Court at Lintz, at the departure of Ernestus, who yet remains a Mourner at Gratz for the Death of Charles his We look not for his return. I was yefterday presented before him as he sat at his Table -I stood a Mans length from him, the half dinner time, where I had the leave and Honour given me to behold the Service of the Court, and of every thing was worth the noting. The Arch-Dukes drink drink but twice or thrice at the most in their Meals. which I have learnt to be the difference of State from the other Almaigne Princes: That which I have often heard the Dutch fay, that our Queen was in some mind toward him, and swore him her Servant by order of her Gatter, is merely falle; for I find that he travelled England diffunfedly, and concealed his State there; which, fince my departure from your Honour, was objected unto me as a point of Wildom in him, to be able to deceive a whole Nation. He is a man of a flight Presence, rather modest than courtly; of all the Brothers, as they fav. the nearest natured to the Emperour; as Catholick as any of them, but not fo hot in it as Erneftus : more of him I know not. His Majefties Embaffador to the Grand Signior is not returned. The Basha of Buda (a Town in Hungaria on the Danube ) was flain by the Turks Souldiers, for letting of him pass. The reason of it is received at Prague, to have been because the Turk being much behind-hand with them for Service-money, they would have paid them-felves with the Tribute. There was speech he would return by the way of Venice, as not daring otherwife; but we hear the contrary, and he is likely to find it an heavy Journey. The Christian Souldiers that lye in Garrison on the Borders, are at the like terms with their Emperour. There was a great stir lately at Prague among the Posts of the Court about refuling to wear the Spread-Eagle, because they had pot their Badge gilt. D. Blotins the Mafter of the Imperial Library, and sometime Professor of the Law in this University, can get no Letter, either for his Annual Stipend then, or charge now. Money is wanting of all hands, and the Emperour poor. Here is difcourling and Rumor of a Marriage between his Rr4 Majesty

Majeffy and the King of Spains Daughter, and the seventeen Provinces for her Dowry. Reasons are alleged it would be a means to enrich the Empire, and to draw the German Princes into the Catholick Caufe, which is now weak in France. Some fav the P. of Parma hath a great Voice in it, to the People talk, whom the Politicks note to be the first makers of great Matches commonly. The News I writ your Honour from Engoftade, that Cardinal Sainctfeverinus was Pope, received at the Jesuits House there, from their Rettor at Rome, and confirm'd unto me afterward by Gregory de Valentia, I find untrue. We have yet the Chair empty fince the Death of Costagni. I confer'd Catholick-wife with a Merchant that came directly out of Italy, how he left the State there. He told me the King of Spain hinders the Election, because, having many Stipendiary Cardinals, they all suspend their Voices till they hear his Pleasure. By that means he is likely to be a Spaniard. and Santtfeverino hath good hopes of the Italian fide. Colonna is the probablest. No man speaks of Mendosa now, that was great before. How it will go there, is yet utterly uncertain: as it falls out, your Horiour shall be signified it. The D. of Ferrara is not dead, but his Nephew, which gave cause to be Report. It is strange to hear how the Catholicks His. able the P. of Parma, in respect of the French King: some because he is meerly ignorant in the Opportuhities of the Land, which are great Advantages in Services and must do all out of the Map; whereas the King is naturally beaten in the Paths of his own Country. Others fay, he hath yet been in no Troubles, but hath got all by looking on, and commanding for by Treason, and will now find it hard to deal where ho must take pains. I hear them discourse thus

thus gladly, for their Doubts are our Hopes; We receive Advertisement here by the Letters of Antwerp at three Weeks date, that the Queen hath lent 6000 L. over into the Low-Countries, upon News receiv'd of the Prince his Absence. Mine out of England make mention of no fuch Matter, intended or performed. I am of Opinion it will prove nothing else than the old Cardinal of Lorrains, Rule; To call him back with a Report. In the Dukes Journey toward Paris, I hear nothing worthy the fignifying your Honour, fave that when he came to Cambray they would not admit him entrance; The Reason pleases me, because the Town lying so commodioully upon his Provinces, there was no truffing of him, especially being in one of the Seventeen: and confequently within the compals of his Commission; so received he at the Gates, that either he should march forward, if it pleased him, or if not, return to Bruffels. The Assembly at Franckfordt is dissolved without any thing done, and much difagreement between the Palatine Agent and the Bishop of Wirtsburg. I heard the Venice Ambassadors Secrerary tell an Italian so much with wonderful Joy. Other important Matter we have none; As the times alter, this my plain kind of Service shall be very ready to let your Honour know it. The secretest Debates about the Empire, I have good means to learn by the Gentleman with whom I live yet, and he hath given me promise of meeting in half way, for exe change of the like out of England. I will alwayes take care to write that, which I think is leaft known unto your Honour: What the Intelligentiary Letters of Ausburg, Lyons and Venice bring, Mr. Osborn, I know, fails not to advertise. My Duty and best Diligence shall be bestowed upon that which no Money,

Money of Charges can come unto. Otherwise I could enlarge this now with much more, as of the P. of Parma's entrenching himself in a Wood by Maefe, and his Fortune there, of the belieging of Corbel, of the Kings Army divided in Picardy, Normandy, and Champagne, of the Money fent out of the Low-Countries toward the Dukes Camp, that yet lies in Kennow; but I have held your honour long. Concerning the Model of the Emperours Luft-boufe, your honour may trust me with it. I hope to fend withall a view of all the present Almaigne Princes, their Courts, chief Affinity, Riches and Strength, and their Inclinations, as they lean to this, or to that Extremity, no otherwise than they are found this year 1500. I have lighted upon a notable Man, and good Books in that kind of Argument; what elle I can with Labour come unto, that belongs to the State-Life, or may any way delight your honour, I am bound to be right willing and glad to perform. There are certain Mathematical Authors to be fold here, in my Opinion wonderful good cheap, whose names and price, I have thought good to let down a bassa delle Lettere. If it please your honour to have them, upon conference with Pretorius, how he finds them priz'd elsewhere, I will upon Word receiv'd, lay out the Money, and take order for the conveyance; If not, there is no harm done. The Books rest till I hear from your honour. And thus ( my good Lord) having with many Words done nothing else then shew'd how glad I would be to do fomething. I will commit your Honour now to the living God, whom I befeech to bring you to the end of all your Journeys in perfect Health and Happines; and so most humbly I take my leave.

Written in my regardful Duty and Service toward your Honour at Vienna Austria, this 20th of November, 1590. Style of Rome.

Carolus Clufius remembers his Duty to your Honour, in his Letter unto me from Francfordt.

e

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON

Vienna, Decemb. 9. 1580.

## My most Honoured Lord,

He last Duty unto your Honour is I hope receiv'd; wherein I was bold, after my plain manner, to advertise the course and state of these Parts, as I found them then. If it might be no trouble to your Honour's better Cares, I am bound to do it often, and to hold no pains or time so well bestow'd, as when with many such slight Services I may shew how right glad I will be to wait upon your Honour in greater. Since that 19th of November, we find here, for matter of News, not much alteration; fave that concerning the Popedom, we are affur'd from Rome, Sanseverin had clearly carried it, but that certain Cardinals, unlook'd for, enter'd the Parlor as the Voices were dispensing. Cajetane is named out of France, Ferdinando his Son, the Cardinal

dinal & Auftria, and Cardinal Madrutza out of Germany, who passing all against him, so rais'd the other fide, as a divition falling between them, there was nothing determined. Sanseverin's strength lies in two points, that of all the Apostolick Senate he is the ancientest and poorest. His Age helps him, because those that are now next in hope, are not likely to wait long for a new Election, and after his death their cardes are certain. By his Poverty, he hath all those Cardinals dealers for him, that receive stipend from the Crown of Spain; for the King, (having a great stroke in the matter) is observed to go wholly with the unablest. The reason we understand to be this, that by lending of him money to win the other Voices, he handles the point fo, as he hath him ever after at his commandment. By this means we hear that Costagni died roundly in his debt. We receiv'd Letters of the Thirteenth of November, that the Duke of Arfcott's Son, Prince of Series, is dead of the Pleurifie in France, and so no Flemish Prince, Protestant or Catholick, left in the Low-Countreys. The News of the Queens fending 6000 into Holland, upon hearing of the Duke's absence, is corrected in our last from Antwerp: I dreamt of such a thing in mine to your Honour, but who oever he was that had the handling of it, he put out the Report very foundly, and I am of opinion there was some mustering of men in England to colour it the better, otherwise, it is strange we should have it in two Letters confirm'd from a Town so near unto it, in a matter so easie to be known, and revers'd in the third. We hear now there are new Aids sent into France out of England, and landed at Boloigne. Perhaps some thought they were in preparation for the Low-Countreys, and so caus'd the error in the Anter-

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Antwerp Letters. Here is much discoursing upon the Queen, whether it were better, as the circumstances of the time fland, to have transported her men into Holland or France. I would gladly hear from your Honour, who is the Leader, if any of both be true: Although my Lord Willoughby be the man, yet I make my account the Prince his lying between, will keep your Honour from him. I am half of a mind that the Queen will be easily intreated to send the Earl of Effex in that Service, upon his new Marriage. You know well (my Lord) the course of the Court. Ferdinando's Son, the Marquels of Isenbruck, shall be fent Ambassadour from the House of Austria to both Parties in the Low-Countreys, to talk of a Peace, as they fay. The Widow of Charles Arch-Duke of Austria deceased, and Ernestus, the Emperour's Brother, are at a difference who shall tutor the Land and Children in their Minority. By Will, Ferdinando and the Emperour are delign'd unto it, but no man can get her out of the possellion. The state of Religion stands in dangerous terms with us. After the division of Officeich, we have four degrees, Prelaten, Boerin, Rittern, and Burgern. The two extreme are constrain'd to the Catholick Faith. The middle two are free, and have not far from this Town a peculiar charge; to which certain of the Burghers reforting, the Complaint was brought to the Bishop of Vienna, who upon it put up this Suit to the Regents; That either the two Free States should keep these two forbidden out of their Assembly, or that the Prohibitorium Editsum should henceforth have vertue against all four, and consequently a general Inquisition allowed in the Land. In the Regency he was denied both parts at the first instance, but is very stiff in it yet. It holds him short that

that the Cammer Procurator, or (after our Commonwealth term ) the Emperour's Attorney, is a Protestant. What will come of it we know not. Other important matter we have none to draw on this Duty longer, fave the commending of it and my self to your Honour's Love and Favour, which I do most humbly. If any Service of my Life may stand your Honour in use here or any where else, I will very taithfully perform it. The Plot of His Majesties Pleasure-bouse shall in convenient time be provided. I am come now to a certainty for Table and Chamber with Doctor Blotins, Master of the Imperial Library, which I have gotten by great means made unto him, and am the only Person in his house besides his own Family. My Study joyns upon the Library, and I have that to my free Use, belides such Discourses of State, and Observations of his own, as he hath in his Travel and Service of the Emperour gather'd together. There is as much good to be done in Germany for matters of Right and State as in the best grounded Government of Europe, I except not the Signiory of Venice. Your Honour fees how unwilling I am to end. The merciful God keep you, and bring you (my good Lord) to the happy end of all your Journeys, and help us together in a joyful time and flate.

Written in most regardful Duty and acknowledgment of my Service unto your Honour, this Ninth of December, at Vienna Danubii, CLO. LOXC. style of Rome.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

Vienna.

## Vienna, Decemb. 19. 1590.

## My most Honoured Lord,

THIS is the third Duty remembred to your Honour fince I arrived at Vienna. As I had fealed up my fecond, and delivered it to the Merchant whose means I use in the conveyance, I found with him one from your Honour, of the 10th of November, wherein it pleased you to answer my poor Service from Engolftade with a far greater Labour. If certain points had not requir'd further talk with Perching, I had then notwithstanding the Carriers hasty departure, fent this with it; but upon that Occasion I was forced to fatisfie the Commands of your Honour's Letters by the next Post. Concerning the Occurrences of Nuremburg, as the relieveing of France and the Low-Countries with Men and Money, the not winning of Corbel, the Milery of Paris, the revolting in the Dukes Ablence, the Princes meeting at Franckfordt, after the Dutch manner, to no purpole, the Death of his Majesties Embassador to the Grand Signior, with the rest; I find by your Honour's Advertisement, that the News comes to that Town, like the Nature of all Reports, some too much, others too little; It goes no otherwise with us here in the ordinary Letters of Antwerp, Lions, Venice, and Rome, wherein Tales are brought us as their Humours inclin'd that first told them. for as they love or hate, so they speak; My assuredest means to certifie your Honour, from time to time, some truth in these Matters, is out of those Letters which the German Travellers in Italy fend

to their Fathers, and Priends here, of which we have reasonable store, and my self indifferently acquainted. In my first and second, your Honour hath, I hope received as I was then able to fignific. and I am right glad that my fortune was to meet before-hand with some such Circumstances as your Letters leave in uncertainty. To acquaint your Ho nour with all Particulars in the rest, is the one of thefe. Petching's first answer unto me, that he had entertained a Franckfordt Merchant in the Chamber he promised, I wrote your Honour before. Since the receipt of your Letter, I dealt with him, whether he thought the Man would depart before your coming, that we might grow to some surety . He held absolutely no. I think it folly upon that second Answer to talk further with him for charges of Table, being very unfit to provide your Honour a Ta- . ble in one place, and Lodging in another; especially in Vienna, where the walking in the Streets by Night, or any thing late, is as dangerous, as in the wantonest Town of Italy. The seeking of a convenienter place, we have defer'd, till we receive the certain determination of your coming, which if it please your Honour to affilt us some two months before, you shall not need to doubt of your provision here, and our care in it. The state of Altorph, for dearness of Victuals, in respect of this Town, I find generally almost double, and yet great complaint with us of Scarcity. The pound of Beef with us feven Pfenning, at Altorph 12, and 13, as I remember. The measure of Wine here at my coming 6 Rreuz, fallen fince to five; at Altorph 3, and yet our most a fourth part larger than yours. And the like rate in the reft. For charges of Horse, the matter is reafonable, a man being able to keep one in any part

of the nether Austria, for less than half the expences they stand your Honour in the heart of the Realm. And in that part we defire to be certified, whether you intend to retain the Horses you have or dispose them otherwise, and furnish your self newly at Vienna? because if that be your Honour's purpose, we shall not need to employ our Service in providing The short of all is, that for Board, Stable-room. Chamber, Stable, and the like, you are likely to find these Parts very good to live in, and especially if it stands with your Honour's liking, as you conveniently may, to table your felf after the manner of Italy, which course I had taken, but then I must have been forc'd to prepare mine own meats, or live at the charge of a Servant, and my time for that was not yet come. I am now at two Florins a week Chamber, Stove, and Table: Lights he finds me; Wood I buy my self; in which respect I hold your Honour right happy, that you come in the Summer, for we can hardly come by them here without two Dollers the Clofter, though we border upon Bobemia. Wine I have as much as it pleaseth me, for my Friend and felf, and not at a stint, as the Students of Altorph. All circumstances consider'd, I make my account that I fpend more at this reckoning by five pound four shillings yearly, than a good careful Scholar in the Universities of England. The reason why Travellers receive no great benefit by the cheapnels of Austria, that live at a hird Table, I wrote your Honour in my first from this Town; the state of our East-country for living, is so. News goes thus with us; His Majesties Ambassadour we hear nothing of, fince his hard escape at Buda: what hapned there I advertis'd before. There is some little rumour of fending another for his release; not SI that that we receive news he is taken, but that upon the Turks commandment the way may be made clear for him; fome flick not to lay, that the Emperour's Poverty makes him negligent of his Agent's Life. Maximilian the elected King of Poland, ( lo he stiles himself, and will read no Letters unless they come with that Title) is lately marvellous malecontent, and a great Reader of Magick Books. There is formething fear'd in him; this is very fecret, and dangerous to speak, but that I know to whom I write. The King of Poland that possesses the Government, we are certified will furrender his Crown upon the Death of the old King in Suecia, and retire home, being wife in this, that he had rather reign among his Native People, after Henry the Third's Example, King of France, though the comparison in the Kingdoms be unequal. The Emperour is faid within these three dayes to have directed a Letter in secret to Ernestus at Gratz, to wish him that he east about for the Crown, as loving him more entirely than Maximilian. We are likely very speedily to have a great stir in the House of Aufiria. I have much more worth the advertifing, but want time, so as I must desire your Honour it may serve for my excuse. And so wishing your Honour all happiness and health, I most humbly take my leave.

Written at Vienna in Austria the 19th of December 1590. Style of Rome.

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON

I have herein included one to Gontrius, with the Epitaph of Urbane the Seventh. It is no great matter worth your Honours feeing, but will please him well enough, because 'tis his Veyn, and the better in that he receives it with Glory: for which I crave Pardon. The next Wednefday I will advertise the whole State of this Country more perfectly. And of the process in Rome at the Popes Election, whom we hear to be a Milanez born, and of a great Family. I affure your Honour this is written in great haste.

## Vienna, January 9. 1591.

## My most Honoured Lord,

THE Answer which it pleased your Honour to make to mine of the 20th of November, dated Altorph, the 6th of Decemb. I received at Vienna, the last of the same Month, in our Style. The odds of

time being fifteen dayes.

The continuance of your favourable love towards me, I read in it most gladly; and my poor Service (which I find so well accepted) is encouraged to this surther troubling of your Honour, which I wish to come secretly unto your hands, because it contains some points of dangerous Advertisement. The sour Books I have trust up safely, and delivered to Dayner this day, who will convey them to another Merchant of the same name in Nuremburg, whose means I have likewise used in my Letters to your Honour. I have soyn'd one with them to Mr. Hunsings,

nings, to whose Lodging they shall presently be carried upon the receipt. They will come at the least eight dayes slower than this, because occasions of carriage by Land, are not ever so convenient, as by the River to us. The Learning, not the Beauty of the Books, must commend the Bargain, though the Schoonen opera are very well worth—Judgment is mean.

To get the Plots of both the Lust bouses, the foundation is laid: and I stay only upon the breaking up of the Weather with us. The next fit day for it, it shall be done in, and those Circumstances of

length, height, and breadth be regarded.

Petching's House being not able to receive your Honour, I went two dayes fince to view another Room, belonging to the Master of the Emperours Library, in a House of his that came unto him by Marriage. The Lord Divekt, one of the ancientest Families of Austria, is yet in possession, but departs There are altogether in the same place, Stoves, Chambers for your felf and Servants, Kitching, Seller, Stable, and a kind of Gallery, with a pleasant prospect into the Danube, and well retir'd from the trouble of the Town; which is the fitter. because your Honour intends to come unknown. The inconveniencies are these. First, the price high, after 100 Dollers the year. Next, your Honour must be fure to keep House your self, and consequently want the conversing with the Dutch, which I know you defire. Thirdly, the Solemnity of fo many Rooms, your meaning being not to stay long, is to little purpose. The Commodities and Discommodities are fo, which it is my part to fignifie; the Election is your Honours. If this displease, there is no fear but your Honour will find other fit places: and

and I will not be idle. The occurrences of Vienna I haften unto, which (after the Style of Rome in all

dates ) are thus.

The Danger that the Emperour bath escaped we cannot hear the ground of; those circumstances advertis'd your Honour before, are right. A Flemish Priest he was, found in the privy Chamber, with an Instrument in a wide sleeve, after the form of a Cross-bow. It is so strange that a Papift should seek the life of the Temporal head of all Papifts, as great things are fear'd, and no man dares speak much; yet some even of great Place, spare not to say, that his Majesty is lately half converted in Religion. So far is certain, that a Lutheran having leave from him to preach in Prague, but limited to one Church, was found after his first Sermon, himself and Servant flain in his Chamber. Whether the same cause wrought a like effect toward the Emperour, we are not hafty to affirm: many think shrewdly that way.

Maximilian, the fourth brother of the House of Austria, had fince my last unto your Honour a strange Vision at Neustad. A terrible shape appearing the first night unto his Chamber-gentleman in the next Room, and shaking him out of sleep on both arms, beheld him a while and departed. The next night in like fort unto him again. The third to the Duke bimself, who having the Curtains of his Bed drawn, this Genius tore one of them in two equal parts, and so standing in the place, look'd stedsally on the Duke, afterward growing higher and higher (at last) as the Duke imagin'd, (whom I conceive in that case able to imagine any thing) seem'd to offer to fall upon him in his Bed; and so suddenly went away. He hath in like sort of late escaped another of no

less danger than the Emperour his Brother. A Polomian having conspir'd with his Secretary of State to poison him, and the Secretary behaving himself to as the other had some suspition he would open all. the Polonian gave him the Poison in a Cup, otherwife prepar'd for the Duke, who finding it in his Body, ran presently, and discovered the whole, and afterward took his Horse in haste, and rid to our Ladies Church in Styremarke, thinking by the vertue of a Relique there, to stop the Operation; such was his vainnels. The Polonian escap'd into his Country in the mean time, and the Secretary the next morning was found dead on the way by a water fide. They fear he will come to be their King. and whatsoever the matter is, have no mind to this house of Austria. Our Lawyers and States-men say they have great reason, lest in few years the free Crown of Poland come to be an investment of the Empire, as Bohemia.

The Emperors Anbaffador to the Grand Signior return'd to Vienna the last Saturday, being the fifth of this Month. The Turk looks strangely upon him, and he complains of his Entertainment; eleven Gentlemen he hath loft of the Plague, and otherwise, and lies himself sick in this Town, what Disease no man knows; for my part I mean not to visit him. His Majesties Truce with the Turks is renewed till the year 1600, which is enlarg'd eight years, because it came not forth till 92, but with this Condition, that the Emperour must presently call the Orator home, and fend him no more Dollors into the place, but Gentlemen, or Lords of the Empire; One Crekwerz goes to supply the room in the beginning of March. He should not have been sent till the next with Tribute, because of double charges, but that his Majesty

jesty must obey, and that word sounds hardly in an Emperours Ear. Ernestus, the second Brother, retir'd to the Court here the last of December from Gratz. and hath done nothing. The Widow of Charles deceased, resisteth her Husbands Will, who hath appointed the Emperour his Nephers, Ferdinando his Brother, and the Duke of Bavaria, Tutors of the Land and Children, with cavear, that the young Duke be brought up at Engolfadt: the Mother keeps the Pofsession. The Emperour wrote her a Letter three dayes fince, that if the will not yield to the Juffice of the Land, he will do it Militari Manu. Erneftus goes to Gratz the next week again. Some think the News of Sigismond's surrendring the Crown in Poland, haftened him hither; but now all the three Brothers are quiet, save Maximilian, who musters men privily: towards what service, he keeps secret. The News of England and France, with your Honours pardon, I will defer untill our next Post, fearing I have made this too long. I hope then to fignific, that Paris is taken, because the two Dukes of the League are long fince parted, and the Duke of Parma came to Bruffels the 6th of December with two thirds of his Souldiers fick; he might have profited much better at home.

I have herein included a fimple Discourse of mine own, which I ended at Astorph, and am bold to present it unto your Honour for the poor Pledge of my Service. I crave of your Honour the keeping of it secret, because it concerns some Gentlemen of Estate, though the Theam be general, and I hope I have kept my self within the compass of my Promise, if not, I beseech those that love me, to blame me for it; I live here daily at the charges of two Servants, which I maintain only to write out such manuscript Books

as I have found of this State, and other matters of weight. Some things I have very worthy the seeing, as two written Books of the whole worth of the Empire, the Names of the Officers, Charges of the Court, their Stipend, and the like, and another of the Import of Venice. As for the Discourse of all the Princes in Germany, their Livings and Strength, (which I promised your Honour before) I will make persect. And both that, and the rest, and my self ever shall be at your Honour's Commandment. The Lord keep your Honour in all Happiness.

Written in most dutiful Regard of your Honour, this 9th of January 1591, at Vienna in Austria, style of Rome.

Your Honours Servant,

#### HENRY WOTTON.

The Prices of the Books are trust up with them. As for conveying your Honour's Letters unto me, you hit the right course in your last.

## Vienna, January 15. 1591.

My most Honoured Lord,

Have fince my coming to this Town, receiv'd from your Honour three Letters of the 10th of November, 6th and 18th of December; the last superscrib'd

perscrib'd unto me in Latin, which I take the reaion to have been, because you doubted the delivery of the rest, being directed in an unknown Tongue.

I cannot but affure you (my good Lord) that they have all been read with especial comfort unto me, to be so far regarded by your Honour, and to find in them the performance of my Service so well accepted, that am witness unto my self of mine own meannels. To advertise your Honour the alterations of each week with us, I will faithfully continue, and crave pardon in this, for such as want of leisure hath made me use less care in than might well beseem me.

Since my last (wherein I signified the return of his Majesties Ambassador from the Grand Signior, the compositions between them, state of his Journey, and the like) the time hath been still, because upon the quieting of the report concerning Sigismund's furrendring his Crown in Poland, the three Brothers of the House of Austria are down. Ernestus returns this next week to Gratz again to fettle those matters. Matthias we look for again in five dayes. Maximilian is at his Court at Newladt, nothing terrified with his late Vision, which in all Circumstances was as I wrote; some say it was an experiment of the Study he gives himself unto, being a known dealer in Magick, and those dangerous Arts which malecontentedness hath brought him to follow. The Emterour himself is not utterly unspoken of that way, and between them both there is no book of that argument left in the Library; we shall see the end of it. His Majelty lends very shortly a present to the new Pope by Ludovico Abhois, a Spanish Priet, brought up at Engoltadt; he enclines much to that Nation, but the Marriage goes not forward, whatfoever the mat-

ter is; I am half of Opinion he will die a Virgin for the House of Spain, but God bath the working of his own causes in his own hands: There is News received at the Court, that the Empress, Maximilian's Widdow is lately dead there, but no certainty, and therefore no Mourning yet. Some of those return'd from Constantinople certifie me of a great emulation fallen between the Queens Agent, and the Polish Orator there: Mr. Bainton hath behaved himself very roundly in his matters to his good commendation. If your Honour please to write unto him, I will convey your Letters by some of Reclavits his Gentlemen, who is appointed Orator of the Empire, and departs about the 10th of March. I have, by my Lord of Indeshames and the Earl Unguads procurement, means to go conveniently with him, if I will, fed consider and um sentio; since my coming into Anftria I have found fome such matters as make me think my next Journey shall be to Spyre. The reasons I will write your Honour hereafter, from whom I am bold not to conceal mine own state: and I crave most earnestly of your Honour the keeping of it from the English Merchants, for though they are my honest friends, and Countrymen, yet have I cause to hold my removings close from them, in some refpects of Italy. I have herein fent your Honour a supplication written by Johannes Sturmius, under the name and in the cause of Gifanius, to Maximilan the Emperour, very worthy the fight in a dangerous matter, of high prejudice, which I have added on the back side. If I had writ it in Latin, my Letter intercepted might bring me into the like Peril. Your Honour likewise receives included Johannes Trithemius his Preface to his Book of Steganography, which I have caus'd to be written out of a Book in his

his Majesties Library. I came a little too late, or had lighted upon the work it felf; which yet I despair not to help your Honour unto; It is a notable piece of work for a States-man, but an Instrument of great ill, if the hand be not good that holds it: as the Author disputes in his Preface; I promise nothing, because your Honour shall, I hope, not find me salle. If I chance to fend it, you are wife (My Lord) to keep it fecret: otherwife the bare having of the Book is to call in our State many Eves about us, to observe our Actions, which is needless to tell you; we have no other News, fave of the taking of Paris, which till better grounds I affirm not. The All-merciful God keep my good Lord in all Health and Happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and Stare.

Written in most dutiful Regard of your Honour at Vienna in Austria, this 15th of January, 1591. Style of Rome.

Your Honour's Servant
HENRY WOTTON.

## February 6. 1591. Vienna.

My most Honoured Lord,

I received in Vienna your last of the 12th of January the 14th of this. Wherein I find that mine unto your Honour, with Trithemins's Preface, and Gifanius's

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Gifanius's Supplication included in it, was yet on the way, and my poor Discourse (that shews your Honour my vanity) read, and far better accepted than

the quality of it deserves.

That I advertis'd nothing this last week I crave pardon, the Posts more sudden departure than ordinary on Thursday Morning deceived me, and by that reason I was forc'd to leave it in the Merchants hands till the next occasion. It were my great shame to be taken in the like fault again, your Honour fo often, and with fuch favour remembring me, who am able to do nothing that comes not far short of my Duty. Your Honour's Books which I deliver'd very fafely, trust up to the Merchant, upon conference with him, I thought convenient to flay a while, till his next fending of certain Wares upon the River towards Nuremburg, because I understand it to be somewhat dangerous to venture a little packet with the Suralauf, few being willing to trust them further than with fuch great Carriages as they cannot well forget. No haste being upon the matter, I hope I have not done ill. The fafest Counsels feem to me the best. As for the price, they cost all four two Florins, which is far under my first note unto your Honour, and I should not have got them so good cheap, if it were not a Town with us rather of Traffick than Learning, which yet perhaps I foolifhly perfuade my felf. The fum is not great, and if your Honour would allow me leave to be so bold, I would crave the imploring of it in a better use for me there, because here (I thank God) I want no Money, for as far as my Affairs go. At my being in Altorth, I remember my self to have dealt with Glasianus for a Polibius in Greek, which he signified unto me he could well help me unto: if by his means means I might procure me a Copy of that Author ancienter than MDXXX (because I have Perots Edition of that year already) I should be very glad, and most earnestly entreat your Honour at his visiting of you, to motion it unto him in my behalf. I desire the bare Greek without the Latin Version, if it be possible. You see (my good Lotd) how bold your favourable words make me beyond my Duty.

The going forward with providing of your lodging, I have upon receipt of your Letters, let alone, till certainer commandment from your Honour that way. That fervice shall upon your first pleasure, be regarded carefully, and in the mean time the Commodities of the Town look'd unto; so you counsel

in your last.

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We have here in his Majesties Library notable Discourses of Military Matters, and in that fort a Book of especial estimation, written in Italian, having many experiences of Fortification in it, and the like. If your Honour have a fancy to it, I will cause it to be written out, which I defire to hear in the next. because the Book is in quarro of a reasonable quantity. If in any other particular State-point you crave the like, no doubt whatfoever the Argument be, amongst 9000 Volumes (whereof the most part are manuscript ) we shall find some Author to please your Honour. For my part my chief care and charges are bestowed in Greek and Dutch Writers and fecret Letters of the Empire, of which, in my Profession, I have some that might make a great man beholding to me, but I will not flatter my felf fo far, whatfoever it be, or can be come unto by exchange of those I have, or gain otherwise, shall ever be, and most worthily are only at your Honours Commandment:

Concerning Constantinople, I had never any Thoughts or Inclination that way, but gave it forth among the English Merchants in Nuremburg upon this reason, that they might satisfie themselves with opinion, that I was gon that way, and I in the mean time cross up the Country in secret, and my intent is not to be feen by them again till I come into Italy, because it might much endanger me, to have any know the time of my going thither, as the circumifances and grounds of my travel have ( before I came forth ) been laid at home; fo far your last hath made me confess, which I did not at any time before, either in your presence, or by Letter, but have rather both spoken and written the contrary; and I most humbly commend this to your Honour's Wisdom, and Love, as a secrefie of my private estate, which (I faithfully vow unto your Honour) was never yet utterd, but in this Letter, and may far limder me, if others hear it; I hope the Merchants are in that mind yet, or otherwise I will trust the old Cardinals Rule no more. The Occurrences are thus: Victuals are arisen in price at Vienna a penny in the pound, flesh, and after the like rate in the rest; the nearness of Lent, thought to be the cause. Wine continues as before, 6 and 5 Kreitz the belt.

Ernestus departed the 28th of January toward Gratz. The state of that question is somewhat alter'd, and the three Tutors, Emperour, D. of Bavaria, and Ferdinando, at a difference; Ferdinando maintains in the Tutorship of the Land and Children the Widdow his Sister. The Emperour, and the Duke are for Ernestus. It would well help his Poverty, and be a good relief to the poor House of Austria is he could come unto it: but some doubt it, others say he shall, by consent of all three, be plac'd in the Possession

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at our next Land-day, which we look for about the first week in Lent. Howsoever it go, so far is already determin'd, that if he be actor of the Lordhip, yet must be continue his Seat in Vienna, and Marthias retire to Lintz, and in case that some great controversie happen touching the Dukes Patrimony in time of his Minority, it must be decided in the principal Town of his Inheritance, which is Gratz. The laft week was buried with us the Earl of Taros, one of the Spanish Order, in great Solemnity, which he left by Will, appointing to the Prelacy of the Town a third. for the purpole of long white Robes, ftrip'd with Silver. There is none left in Austria of that Order, under a Duke, nor any before him. The golden Fleece of Churles Arch-Duke, and this, shall be both together fent into Spain in Lent; as yet no man is appointed to that Service. The Letters of Italy advise us, that all the Towns there under the Spanish Regiment, are double Garrison'd, and principally Naples, because it frontiers the Sea so dangerously. The reason is added that they have certain intelligence of their Kings Death. Gregorius XIIII is quiet. It is much wonder'd how he came to the Popedom, being half a Foot, as they fay that know him, and have long conversd with him; and he hath a quality different from all others, that he continually laughs, whereby his Humour is foon guest at. There are certain Pasquils in Dutch written against him, in the time of his Cardinalhip, that touch'd that quality. We hear of great preparation in Spain against England, and our Ferdinando will venture something again, but no more Sons, left he break another Widdow; I wit your Honour that story before. Our Dukes name is terrible in Aufria, though I think it waxes cold at home. The Turks Galkes should lately have kept fome stir about Florence, but to no purpose; of those parts we have no more. Concerning the Lon-Country matter we hear thus. The Duke hath since his return out of France beheaded Dentii Governour of Venloc in Brussels, put Longsanc, a Captain in the Dukes Regiment, with his sentence of Death to Gent, put the Marquess of Antwerp from his Office, banish'd Mr. Balion from the Court, and Mr. de Lequies his Son-in-law. As for Grave Peter Ernest van Manssield, and Charles his Son, they are both restored to the Court, after they had held themselves a while upon

their own charges at Zemps.

The Bishop of Lutich is sent for to Brussels to make his defence for fomething done in his Land, while the Duke was absent; our Letters say, it will go hard with him. The Marques de Rems, is, fince his return on the 20th of December, about three in the Afternoon, dead; who shall be Governour next of Hannonia is uncertain. Lamot is extream fick, otherwife were likely to come unto it. If Lamot dye, Grave Carle van Mansfield hath the promise of Graveling. The Prince of Parma loses daily the best Flowers in the Garden, but we win nothing in the mean time there. Of France this; the King hath licens'd certain Victuals into the Town, and Wood upon intreaty of the Cardinal Gondii at twenty five Crowns the Cartfull, and a Cow eight: Vereor ne bec misericordia in miseriam cadat, toolish pity hurts men much now adays. Duke D' Espernon ( theof France) with the king about Paris, is apon hearing that Duke de Nemours had taken in & Clou's. Barnardino Mando of Paris to Lions—the Circumstances and the Town him no more, which we are glad to hear. Cambray is fallen from the neutrality to the Kings part, and Boloigne

Boloigne as we hear, is invested Duke. The Vicount Turrin—Horatio Palaviesho, being beaten back by the Weather, as your Honour writ, would venture no more out on that cold Element, but were convoy'd by the States 2000 strong,—as your Letter saith, as take it through—

# February 10. 1591. Vienna.

## My most Honoured Lord,

DY our last Post I held your Honour with many Words; I fear too long, and so recompens a the failing in my Duty the Week before with a new Fault. The occurrences of our Town were somewhat more than ordinary, and your Honour's most savourable Letter to me requir'd, in some points, large answer, otherwise Matter, and not Words, is that which both I know you defire to hear, and my self travel to learn; and though your Honour might receive it pen'd with greater Wisdom from others, yet none that acknowledges himself more bound to take this little pains, nor that with greater care will look in the House of Austria, to be able to advertise the ground of our Princes Actions.

The question at Gratz is come yet to no other head than was signified in my last. Ernestus no less busie in it than before; and we say in these quarters, it is a bad sign when Tutorships are sought for. In the Government of former times every man was glad when he had an excuse for it; as our Law teaches us; now they are come to the same nature

as Wardships, the one striv'd for here, the other in England; a better Age will mend both. The Cave-at-in Charles his Will, to have the young Duke brought up at Engoliade, (as being the only six place of Germany for a Catholick Gentleman) is by his Widdow in plain Terms resus'd; her reason this, That whereas the Father lest that by Testament upon sear, lest the Boy might be seduced to another Religion, his Mother continuing Catholick, there is no doubt that way, and therefore she will retain him with her. So much I must advertise your Honour surther of her, she is a great dealer in State Matters, as in the Intelligences of the League between France and Stain, the causes of the Empire

that touch Religion, and very Wife.

The focech of our Lantage about the first week in Lent continues, and never more need: no Souldier being pay'd on the Borders; and farther, his Majefty running in debt with his Brothers concerning their yearly Portions. For the state between them is to that the Land should remain in the elder Brothers hands, and the rest be allowed out of it their certain Annuities. One told me it amounts to not above 12000 Fr. Rhenift, yearly, in bare gelt: upon further Intelligence I will advertise the certainty; that Sum is too childish. Toward part of which payment every one should have a Lordship to hold his Court upon, as Ernestus, Vienna; Marbias, Linta; Maximilian, Neuftadt; so that the tale ( which about Nureinburg is current, and I doubt not but your Honour hath heard it ) that the Brothers have by compact agreed not to marry, lest Aufria come to the division, is meerly false, and as far as I can yet find, there is nothing but poverty keeps them from

The Italian and Dutth Letters are not yet come to my hands, and therefore I am able to fignifie nothing of fresher advice than my last concerning the matters of France, only I heard fince, that two Metchants of Antwerp have lent the Prince of Parma ( but for better fecurity under the name of the League) 100000 Crowns, some say upon a new Voyage into France: others, to be transported to the Duke de Mayne, for all occasions till the Printe can prepare him further ayd: a third, that it is to pay his Souldiers, which in divers places of the Spanish Provinces, do for lack of Money keep great ffirs; those are the three Opinions, the Judgment is your Honours. I have lately, concerning the flate of the Election in Poland, when the Princes of Austria food for the Crown, gotten a certain Pasquit, ( I can call it no better) especially intended against Maximilian but generally against this House. It is very worth your Honours feeing, and the rather, because in it there is no great Person in Poland but is touch'd how he was inclin'd then; but so straight charge is had against the making of it common, as I dare not include it in this, my Letter hath no priviledge not to be open'd on the way, others have found it dangerous, and examples teach me, when I shall fee fome affured means, your Honour shall not long be kept from it; in the mean time I crave Pardon. Your Honour hath a Book of the Arms of England added on the Margent, with a short designment of every Pedigree applied to the Arms, as I take it, in quarto. If it please you (my good Lord) to give me leave to be so bold, I most humbly crave the borrowing of it some little Time. The Lord of Friedestraime intreated me to help him to the fight of forme of our Coats, as they call them, having a

work in hand of Arms, which he means to fet forth: for fo it is with us, every Gentleman in Aufiria that is possessed in the Land (as the Dutch Phrase of their Law speaks) is a great dealer in these Matters, the reason, because defending themselves to be the best Nobility of Germany ( as having some way or other alliance or descent from the House of the Empire ) they all feek to beautifie their own Family. Your Honour knows that the Dutch are not behind hand that way in the higher parts, with us much forwarder, and he that will win a Gentleman's love here, must first learn whence he is descended, and work upon that ground with discretion, as occasion shall give. The Book shall (God willing ) be faithfully reftored unto your Honour again.

And so (my most Honoured Lord) I beseech God to keep your Honour in all Health and Happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most regardful Duty the 10th of February 1591. At Vienna in Austria, Style of Rome.

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

Vienna

## Vienna, February 591.

My most Honoured Lord,

YOur Letters from Neureinburg the 25th of January were received in Vienna the 18th of the next Month, the confirmation of your love (which I humbly defire ever) is in all Duty right dear unto me, my unableness to deserve it any way, though it pleaseth your Honour's most friendly nature not to regard in me, I hold it my part to consess. Fortune hath given me little, and my Vertue is less to amend it, and when I have sought all means I can to shew my Service where I owe it, I must then acknowledge, that a younger Brothers best desert is his own Honesty and Faith, of which I make an affured promise unto your Honour, when it shall please

you to employ me.

Tritemius's Book (which is the first point in your Letter ) I remember my self to have put your Honour in no further certainty, than that I would go near the getting of it : so far I continue. The Plot of the Emperours Lust-house and that, will, as I guess out of the Circumstances, come to your hands about one time, and if then I find not the ordinary means lafe, I will hire some honest man for the purpole, and joyn with the other two, some one of my manuscript Books of the State of Germany, to make his carriage worth his hire; but I determine nothing, because I would be very forry to lose any part of Credit with my good Lord. Charges shall not hinder, for though I plaid the good Husband a little in Altorph, dreaming upon some Occasions to spend in Vienna, yet ( if I err not in mine own nature ) Mo-

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ney is not deare to me than Wildom, nor any other of my to Humouts able to let my defire to be thankful ays provided a care to keep my felf within my own compass, left I run in debt in a strange Land, which I hold little better than Misery at home. The courses of my Travels I will boldly acquaint your Honour with, and you shall receive the Advertisemens from time to time, though in another Language, as the Circumstances of my state, and the place shall require. He travels with mean confideration in my Opinion, that is ever one Country-man: your Honour knows the rest. Of Constantinople, I fignified the whole in my last, where you counsel me to go to the Borders. I was beforehand offer'd means unto it by one Heiberger, who shall by his Majesty be employ'd in a Commission about the end of March that way. I have refolved nothing. but howfoever, I will, in my Letters to Nuremburg, give it forth very foundly that I am gone thither, or the other Voyage; The reason I acquainted your Honour with before, and I humbly crave the help of your Honours Wildom in it, no further to acknowledge to the Merchants of me, than as if I were gone, which you can in better fort help for-ward than I prescribe. The Occasion your Letter makes mention of, I find not included nor received by the Merchants, peradventure the Trayner of Nuremburg forgot to put it in his Letter, wherein he transported yours, otherwise I cannot imagine how it hath miscarried on the way. The re-examination of Sir John Parrat, my Brother, did not advertise me in my last; some matters are newly discovered in Ireland belike: once suspected and ever nearly look'd into is the custom of England. Concerning the blow in the Council Chamber, which your Honour writes

of. (I name him not) it may perhaps coft him dear. The D. of N. gave my L. of L. a box on the Eat. that he paid his Head for. The Story is well known unto you. Mr. Killigrew's Marriage will Binder his rifing. I wonder how he was brought unto it there was some Italian device or other in it in doubt the new Professor in Aborph takes the matter at the highest; My Lord of Effex, and Sir Charles Bonn's fray will draw many quarrels on being the only two Gentlemen, whom the younger Brothess that were not Students, did follow for Preferment It may be the name was milwritten for Sir Chrispher Blunt, because your Honour knows of the old thiarrels between my Lord and him; it is an easie Error.

The Occurrences of this last Week with us are these. The Ouestion at Gratz is in the same state as my last advertis'd, and how it will yet fall out we know not. If Erneftus come to it, it will be worth him some 1000 l. English yearly, which cannot have the House of Austria. The young Prince bath six years to come out of the Tutorship, and if Erneflus chance to provide for himself somewhat further than he can make just account for, he hath two remedies. The one, an absolution from his Majesty: de non reddenda ratione tutula, a known Practice of the Empire fince Charles the Fifth's time, who als lowed many of those Dispensations expectly against all Law and good Government. The other, that if his Brother chance to dye in the mean time, and he come to the Empire (as of all other he is most likely) he can then take order to absolve himself; the Landflants there do wifely suspect these maters, and therefore relift him roundly.

His Majesty bath lately sent for Serren antony van Buessam to Prague, with intent to make him T t 4

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Lands-Marshalch, which is the next Magistrate to the Emperour in both Auftrius, and hath for a time fince-indeath at the last lain void. He is an earnest Catholick, and may do much harm to the cause of Religion, but some say he refuses the Office, and will live quiet at home. That which commends him to it is an Opinion of some Learning in him, otherwife a man of ordinary experience; so well qualiticd is the Emperours Court in this point, that Students have preferment in Austria, or Bohemia, Souldiers in Hungary, and rewards for both lives is held no bad means to make fit men in both. The Chancellour of the Regency died this last week, and Der Gerr Cufelemar (another of that place) was depos'd from his Office in this fort He writ his Majefty a lecret Letter to Prague, in manner of a Supplication, that whereas he had ferv'd him in the Regency many years, it would please him either now at the length to encrease his living, or give him leave to live fo, as he might not need to carry any great port, thinking by this means to move the Emperour to consider him. The Letters being read, are observ'd whither they tended: Answer was sent him to Vienna, that his Majesty would, as far as lay in him, be no hinderance to any man from a quiet Life, especially those to whom he was beholding unto for long Service; and therefore he should receive that for a Discharge from the Regency. There was never man so blank'd with an answer, and for ought I cap hear or read, the Emperour bath not plaid finte his coming to the Crown, a subtiler part; but so it falls out where we will be too wife. Now he is come from one of the Regency to be a common Procurator, which his Wit hath helpt him to. We have had likewise in Austria this last Week the greatest

greatest Marriage that hath in Germany been long heard of, between Septimius van Liecstansteyne, and the Earl Van Halmes Wife's Daughter, by Birth a -- Her yearly revenues, (being only an Inheritance from her Mother) are at the lowest Survey 80000 L. He hath gone about her four years, but had her consent at the first; her Father could not be brought unto it till now. I hear the Reason to have been, because he ever thought her being the Daughter of an Earl too good for a Freyfer, and therefore would have plac'd her with the Sertzog vander Lignitz, who lately came to her Fathers House to setch her with twelve Coaches. The Germans ( as your Honour knows) carry in their hottest Loves a difcretion with them to equal their Titles at the least, if not increase them; no example to the contrary, fave Ferdinando, who, by joyning himself with a Citizens Daughter of Austria, is, I affure your Honour, held with us here a spot to the whole House, and the maintain'd in the quality of a Concubine, and no Wife. England is more light-headed in these cases, and even the greatest Women have the destiny to match with their own Servants. Of France and Italy I have nothing worthy advertisement. I have herewith sent your Honout a Letter of Sleydans to the French King, thought worthy to be represented to the Emperour, and reserv'd in his Library. No doubt you shall find in it right worthy Matter, the Author being a man of great Judgment, and the times when he writ it, full of Action. I crave of your Honour to haften the writing of it out, if you shall hold it worthy, and the sending of it again in your next Letter, with your Judgment of it; It is not to be gotten elsewhere, and besides, no man is privy to my fending of it but my felf, in which

which respect it requires the greater Secrecy. Other Dutch Letters, wherein great matters are contain'd, I will furnish your Honour with, as the occasion gives, or when we meet. I wrote in my last, of a certain Pasquil concerning the Election in Poland, that touches every mans Inclination, how he was then affected toward the Crown, but dare not send it till you counsel me, because it is perilously look'd unto by the Dukes of Austria. If your Honour shall write, that you hold it safe enough, I will transport it with the next after. I have held my most good Lord too long from better Cares. The Almerciful God keep your Honour in health and happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in regard of my Duty toward yout Honour, the 19th of February, 1591. at Vienna, Style of Rome.

Your Honour's Servant

#### HENRY WOTTON.

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As I had written this, I was call'd to the viewing of certain Manuscript Discourses, offer'd to Maximi-han the Arch Duke, to be bought; wherein I sound one of all the Popes Revenues and Expences; another of all the Ports and Fortresses in England, and the Queens uttermost strength; a third, the Revenues of the State of Venice, of which I had the import before; besides all such Relations as the Ambassadours of Italy have made since many years, at their return from England, Germany, Poland, Constantinople, &c. And the Conclavi at many of the Popes Elections.

Elections, with the present Popes Life and Actions bitherto. I have means to come to all these, but with double charges, because I must pay for the writing of such out (as I will have) twice, once for him that helps me to them, and for my self, which I will not spare to do, and am half agreed. I thought good to signific it to your Honour, to whom the benefit of it belongs as well as to my self.

### February 27. 1591. Vienna.

## My most Honour'd Lord,

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Received the 26th of February from Altorph, your Honour's Letters of the first of January, having answer'd one the Week before, dated Nureinberg the 15th of the same Month. What the cause might be that those which were of twenty five dayes fresher date than the other, should come to my handseight dayes before, I can no way imagine, unless perhaps being both deliver'd to the Trayner of Nureinberg about one time, and he not able to include them in one Letter, fent by chance the first dated last away. Howfoever it were, I am right glad they are fafely come unto me, because in them I receiv'd two of your Honour's Letters toward Confiantinople, which I hope shall, without mifcarrying, be deliver'd as their directions tend. For my part, I have before faithfully figuified unto your Honour my whole purpose in it, and do ( as in all other points) socially persuade my self I have greater matters in hand, at leaft more concerning my Soudies and State.

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Notwithstanding your Honour's Letters shall carefully be regarded, and I shall no doubt find many that will strive for the charge, if I can handle the cause so as they may be perswaded to have means by it of coming to acquaintance with the English Agent, which hope will make them be better look unto than otherwise. Of Rreokwitz, the appointed Orator's Religion, your Honour is misadvertisd. The last with the Tribute was a Protestant, and that wonder'd at in the Court, As for the Leger Ambassadour, it is a general Rule in Austria, that either he must be a Catholick, or at least, taken for one: Other Offices, even near the Emperour, and of principal credit in the State, are supply'd for the most part with Lutherans, and one Calvinist, which is the Master of his Majesties Architecture. I distinguish them unto your Honour after the manner of Germany.

Concerning Trithemius his Book, and the Plot of the Lust-house, I make all possible haste that may be. It were my shame, after so many bountiful friendlinesses receiv'd at your Honour's hands, to be negligent in any thing that might be taken of my Service and Duty, which I hope I shall very shortly shew. The determin'd time of your Honour's departing Altorph, I most humbly crave to hear, because of sending a Manuscript Book, with certain other matters of State, unto you, wherein is more to be learn'd in three Weeks study, than in the observation of many Years otherwise, as having the Offices and governing of the Empire, the Princes, free Towns, Religious Orders, Earls and Nobility of the Land, all added in place as their degree is, with every mans Contribution as he was sessed against the Turk, after the rate of his living ; befides ire-

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fides the Salaries of the Magistrates, and Charges of the Empire in all Embassies, and much other good Matter, which I know, both your Honour is delighted withall, and my Duty not to hold it from you. I account it the dearer, because it is written in Dutch, other Tongues are more common in our State, and for fuch points as are to be learnt in them, one that hath a care of his time at home thews himself often as well provided as a man of good experience in other Commonwealths; whereby the poor younger Brother Traveller loses his Reward; though I must confess, as far as my mean Fortune goes, to have a piece of your honourable Vertue, to deny my Friend nothing. I speak that (my good Lord) without relation to your Honour, because I am unworthy of the name, neither account my felf farther than your Servant, and shall be ever right glad, if I may by any possible means deferve a number amongst them.

What it shall please you further to employ me I befeech may be done betwixt this date and our Easter, because I determine to stay no longer in Vienna than till then, waiting daily upon Letters out of England, to resolve my self in some points concerning mine own private Estate. For that Book of the Empire, with, I hope, Trithemins, and the other, they shall all in the time between, as far as my labour and care can compass, be convey'd unto your Lodging in Altorph; and although my felf should not be present at your Honour's arrival in this Town, yet will I with Petching take fuch order, as I hope you shall find at your coming some reasonable good provision. How right glad I would be, once again in Germany, to see my good Lord in perfect health, nothing can affure your Honour more than your own most kind and friendly nature towards me, which if it fall not out, my next wish and care shall be to bestow my time, as I may be more worthy of your Love; and wheresoever I am, I will not fail to crave at the hands of my God the prospering of your Honour's Travels and noble desires every way, which I speak unseignedly.

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The Occurrences of this last Week with us are few. I advertis'd your Honour before of the great Marriage between the Earl of Halm's Wife's Daughter, and Septimius Freyferr van Leichentein, but forgot, if I milremember not, to add what happen'd It was celebrated toward Hungaria, not fat from the Borders, and the Turk, using the advantage of the present occasion, made an asfault upon them, in which, a principal Leader of their fide was taken by Septimins, for an honour of his Marriage, We hear of great matters in reward to the Souldiers, but I dare not affirm any thing. It came to our Town much increased, that the Bride was taken and carried away by the Turks, so hardly can we trust intelligence in these times. Of our Landtage we hear nothing yet, but the necessity is such as it must be shortly, or the Emperour will feel it. The Ouestion at Gratz stands as it did without alteration fince my last. It is told me, the Hungarians begin to stomach his ablence there, because he is his Majesties Lieutenant General in the causes of the Countrey, much after that Quality that my L of Leicester was in Flanders, save that he deals not with the War, and can determine nothing finally, without a Post to Prague: Not because the Emperour hath not given full Power, but the Hung arisms will have fuch Points as nearly concern their Commonwealth, twice confirm'd; a fubile People to handle WHEN with. Of France we have nothing worthy the Advertisement, save that all things are reasonable good cheap in Paris. If that be true, it will teach the King the difference between Wisdom and Piety. Those Books which I advertis'd your Honour of in my last, Maximilian the Arch Duke hath prevented me in, and bought them all. I assure your Honour, I would double the price to come by them, but great Persons must be first served. Since then I am help'd to a Book, which both is rare to be gotten, and dangerous to keep, if it were known; it is the Sig! Book of the Empire. Out of which I must only gather Notes, because to write it out my self I have no leisure, and dare not commit it to others.

My good Lord, The God of all Mercy keep your Honour in health and happiness, and help us

together in a joyful time and state.

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Written in most regardful Duty toward your Honour, the first day in Lent with us, which is the 27th of February 1591. style of Rome:

Your Honour's Servant,

#### HENRY WOTTON

March 1. 1591. Vienna.

#### My most Honoured Lord,

The Books which you have long look'd for, your Honour doth now, I hope, fafely receive. This convenient occasion, offered me by one of Nureinberg, whose honesty, I have enquired good testimo-

ny of in this Town, I could not but use. In the Merchant's Lodging they had layn, fince date of that Letter, wherein your Honour was first advertis'd of their being there, and waited there till his next lending up the River, because to commit them to the Turleut was dangerous. The Letter which I joyn'd with the Packet to Mr. Hunnings, I now retain, being merely unnecessary, by reason of the direct delivery of them to your Honour's hands. There are some, Treatises ex abundanti, more than was fignified in my first Note of them, and amongst the reft, a Disputation of the Superiority between the Pope and the Emperour; a Question look'd more nearly unto in former times than now. It is joyn'd in the end of Picus Mirandula's Book against Aftrology, in a blind Letter. I have likewise herein fent your Honour the Pasquil upon the last Election in Poland, because the occasion is somewhat fafe, and much more to be learn'd in it, than perhaps in a Discourse of many Pages. He hath written it in way of Company, the Polonians, and Brothers of the House of Austria, with the Trojans and Greeks, using Virgil's Verses, which, in my opinion, bath shew'd his Judgment more than if they had been his own. The Author is unknown, and if I be found out to have acquainted your Honour with it, I shall feel it here; even flight matters are made great, if men have the handling of them. I know, my good Lord, to whom I write, and therefore lay no more. Concerning those Books of State which I promis'd in my last, they shall be fent unto you faithfully, between the determined time, and my felf will ever live in most regardful Duty toward your Honour, as I am bound.

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The God of all Mercies bring my good Lord to his Travels end happily and well, in a joyful time and state.

Written in great haste at Vienna in Austria, this March 1. 1591. Style of Rome.

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Your Honour's Servant

## VENTY WOTTON:

The right understanding of the Pasaul, for the several Persons, your Honour cannot fall in, who hath travelly the State. As for such points, which must be interpreted out of our Princes actions, I have added them in the Margent.

# and Vienna; March 12. 1591, 100 and a

# My most Honoured Lord,

HOping that your Honour hath, upon your return from Angusta, receiv'd both your Mathematical Books, and those other which I sent by a hired Post, safely, I will only in this discharge my Duty concerning the Occurrences of these Parts, which are thus. The Emperour hath not yet sent the Present to the Pope by Lodovick Aphols, nor determined the day of Kreckwitz departure. There is none likewise appointed toward Spain with the two Fleeces of Charles the Arch-Duke deceased, and the V v

Lord of Hargol. Even matters of flight charges are stay'd for lack of Money till our Landay, which there is great cause to hasten, and yet we hear nothing of it. Ernestus hath gotten the Actorship of the Land at Gratz, but the Widdow will not have her Son brought up at Engolftadt, because the will work him to her own Will. We have receiv'd in the Dutch and Italian Letters of this last week, news of great importance. The Turk is furnishing out Sonally in the Arfenal, and commanded the Vifier Sinam Balla ( as our Letters term him ) to go every day thither. All the Sea Towns, and Parts of Italy that he open are upon certain intelligence of it double Garifon'd, principally Malia. This we have good grounds of the Orator of the Empire having writ it to the Court, and making mention in his Letter of two further circumstances, that the Turk hath lately been in Counsel, whereto he call'd the English Agent, and hath fent to Peloponefe, and those parts of Greece, to have Provision of Victual ready, if his Gallies come upon those Coasts. The Duke of Florence is faid to have advertis'd it to the King of France. To what purpole lo great a Preparation is toward, they talk diverfly on. The most part say, that he intends to fall into Provence, which peradyenture is only given forth for a Terror to the League, and to call the D. of Savoy home, whom we hear to keep some für in those Parts this present.

The Protestant Princes of Germany have renewed their Promise to the King of Nevarr, Saxony, Brandenburg, Palatine of the Rhyne, Wirtenberg, and the

reft.

We are advertis'd of General Norris his return unto the Low Countries, and putting of new Souldi-

ers into Vlishing, Brill, Bergen aught dein hom, the old being sent home to serve on the Sea under Drake, whom we hear to be furnish'd out toward Peru with as many Sayl as your Honour fignified. The Pope Gregorius XIIII, hath in his last Consistory commanded all Cardinals and Bishops to their Refidences, by reason I the great Dearth in Rome. Of 3633 (which was the just number of the Jews in the Town) 500 are discharg'd away, but the rest, promising to provide themselves from other Parts, the Bakers are exprelly forbidden to fell them Bread. Sir Petro Vulganco is fent into Poland for Provision of Corn. The Popes Jubile is come forth, and was preach'd on by the Bishop of Vienna this last Week here, and his Monitory ( which is commonly a Preamble to an Excommunication) fent into France by Sir Laredriano, to the Enemies of the League. The Marshal of Biron out of Normandy with 10000 Foot, Duke of Efpernon with 1000 Horse, and 4000 Foot. Duke of Nevers with 6000 Horse. are joyn'd to the King about Paris. The Duke of Geiofa hath the Government of Rodes granted by the Leaguers. The Duke de Nemurs, with Bernardin Mendoza, are fled to Orleance. Of the Prince of Parma's returning into France there is great speech, and he will affuredly venture it, if General Norris his coming do not formewhat hinder him, whom I make no question to have been sent for that purpose. The Florentiner Captain Nozi, and certain Switzers are fallen into Savoy, while the Duke is absent; and fome Letters fay, that Don Amadeo, his base Brother, whom he left Governour of the Land, hath fent for him into Provence with Letters of Post. This is all that we have received.

The living God preserve your Honour in Health and Happines, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most regardful Duty this 12 of March, 1591, at Vienna in Austria, style of Rome.

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

#### Vienna, March 6. 1591.

#### My most Honoured Lord,

TOur last Letters of the first of March, signifying your sase return from Augusta, I received the twenty third of the same Month, and in it, Sleydan's Letter to the French King, with a Book of our King's Descents, which the Post brought me the next day after receipt of your Honour's Letters from the Merchant. Of the four Mathematical Books which I fent by a Nureinberger, or the Post, whom I difpatch'd away on the tenth of this, in our Style, toward your Honour's Lodging, I find no mention, but hoping that as then they were both almost at their Journies end ( which the first might well have been long before) I can stir no further in it till next adverrisement from your Honour. The last of them I would be very forry should miscarry, both because his his Burden I know will be right welcome unto you, and principally in respect that I have by him directly perform'd that which I never durst further than indirectly promise. For the Polibius, I have taken order with Carolus Clusius in Franckfordt, and yet would gladly have as many Copies of that Author as I can possibly come unto, so they be diverse Editions; but I make no halte, being certified from Jacobus Cafaubonus, a Friend of mine in Geneva, that he determines to fet forth that Book himfelf, which I wait for, and hope he hath performed it this Mart. When it shall please your Honour to take your Tourney to Vienna, your Lodging is ready in Petchings House, very convenient, in my Judgment, and you shall not need to turn into any Inn, but in strait course from the Gate that lies open to the Danube, along to the corner House, by the Bishops lodging, which Description I have thought not amiss to add, left your Honour, having-forgot where Petching dwells, might be troubled in enquiring him out. The Franckfordt Merchant which before had taken in the Rooms is departed. The Occurrences with us are thus. His Majesty hath given no audience this ten Weeks, but hath kept his Chamber very secretly, the reason is unknown, some say, he is not well in Body, others that he is malecontented in mind; when all is done that may be, we shall have ( as even great men think ) an agreement between the Emperour and the Princes, and Religion free to all States, that so a Ruussage may follow; for the House of Austria can neither indure as it is without Money, and a Landtaye is now come to be a poor help, and yet as poor as it is, we carnot hear of it. Ernestus is still upon his charge at Granz, but ( as I have before fignified ) must return hither to his old

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Seat, how fhortly, we know not; Matthias here, and Maximilian at Neufladt are quiet, no matter of any Action stirring between them. We have a Tale come to our Town, that the elected King despairs to be ever in the actual possession of the Crown of Poland, and hath lately, in a flight matter, overfeen himfelf greatly, in giving the very fame Robe, which he appointed to wear at the Coronation, to a Spanish Tefter of the Court here, who wears it on great Feaft dayes; and some are of Opinion it will be laid hereafter in his dish. The Polonians are apt enough to tell him of it. The Emperour can get no Money of the Hungarians. All the Provinces of Austria are Pledges, and he maintains himselfonly out of the Crown of Bohemia. The confideration of these, and like points, makes the People speak and discourse of the Prophecy, that as Rodolphus the First began the Empire in that House, so Rodolphus the Second shall end it; and likely enough. Ferdinandothe Emperour's Brother, leaves not his practifing against our Queen, and handling secretly with Spain in those matters. If we had a fecret Intelligentiary about his Court, it might perhaps do us more good than in other places, for the King there (I am certainly inform'd) doth do nothing without acquainting him with it, fince he ventured his Son among the Spanish Armadoes, but this belongs not to me. His other Son, the Cardinal of Austria, is not yet returned from Rome, where a great and dangerous Emulation fell between him and the Cardinal Sforza, infomuch as they strove for the first place in a Consistory, both challenging it by antiquity of their Families, the one from Austria, the other from Milan. The Pope had reason to be parrial, but decided the controversie on the Cardinal of Austria's Party, without affection, and

and our Princes are glad to hear it. Of the preparation in the Turks Arienal, I advertis'd before. No day is yet appointed for the Orator's release there, nor Kreckwitz departure here. The speech continues as before of the Prince of Parma's return into France, who hath fince his coming home made his Son Cardinal of Parma and Placemia. The Duke of Savoy is faid to have taken in Marfeilles in Provence by a mutiny between the Towns-men and Governours, but no certainty, for others fay, that his bastard Brother Don Amadea, whom he left Ruler in his Land, bath called him home, upon rifing of the Switzers in his absence, and Captain Nozey's falling in upon certain Towns and Villages in the Borders of Savoy; howfoever, it cannot much hurt the King, being a Town of the League. Mr. Della Nous Sonor (Gelluce they call him) whom the Prince of Parma hath held seven years Prisoner, was on the 15th of February brought from Dorneck to Ammerp, with a Convoy of Horse, and shall be exchanged for Don Diego Piemantello a Spaniard. We have strange advertisement, that the Duke d'Espernon, which in our last letters had joyn'd with the King about Paris, is now by Cales with 5000 Foot, and himself receiv'd into the Town, but no Souldier with him, as Mr. Gordon's practice hath ever been. Since my last unto your Honour, I have receiv'd from Drefon, both Dutch and English Letters, dated at that time as the French Ambassadors were at the Court there; written unto me by reason of the Lord of Stareinberg, (a great Family in Austria) to whom my Brother shew'd some courtesie in England, and at his departure commended his Secretary unto him, that he might a little have the experience of these Countries. They spent three Months on the Journey VVA from

from England to Dreson, and departed from thence toward France the 22th of February. Our Queen (as I hear) hath bestowed Don Pedro de Vaides Rapier upon the Vicount Turein, and did in such fort entertain him, as sew Ambassadors in the like. There is much commending of Gentlemen Strangers from the K, of Scots to our Queen, and from her to him, and of both sides great courtesse shew'd, which I am right glad to hear, because it is not amiss for both to have both Crowns agree. Other circumstances there are, but of slight consequence to trouble your Honour longer. The God of all Mercies send my most Honoured Lord to his Travels end, in a happy time and state.

Written in humble regard of my Duty unto your Honour, this 26th of March at Vienna in Aufria, CLo Lo XCl, Style of Rome.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

Your Honour's Book of the Descents I will return (God willingly) safely before my departing Vienna.

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#### April 17. 159 1. Vienna.

#### My most Honoured dear Lord,

Received your last from Altorph the 24 of March, the 15th of April in our style, with the Book fafely return'd, and in right convenient time. To make it more perfect than it is ( as I wrote your Honour this last Week) I cannot promise. The man I have founded as far as my mean Difcretion would give me leave, and think he had not denied it me. if himself had been able to perform it perfect, because I have done him fince my coming to Vienna, as great a pleasure, in as secret a matter, but I am soon deceiv'd, and all men are not thankful, and I haste . not to conclude any thing upon mine own conceit. Concerning the 100 Crowns, they perswade far in these times, but the Person is of so great a Living and Authority, as I dare hardly close with him that way. He hath Children, and amongst them a Son of some 23 years, whom I intend to undermine with that golden Instrument, and thorough him the Father, but this very fecretly, because if the Son may by chance be drawn to help me to it, without his Father's knowledge, I am not likely to refuse it, or if he fignific the offer to his Father, and he be content to let his Son receive the Money, (for Parents do now and then things by their Children, which they are ashamed to do by themselves ) I can likewife fuffer it; or laftly, if the Son may move the Father not to be curious in the receipt, using such Arguments as Youths are wont to do, it will be all one to me, so I get it, I stand not much upon the means, if it be honest. What is done, I will leave with

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with Trayner in a Letter to your Honour, and if I happen upon the defired effect, it shall (God willing ) be fent withall, if not, yet my hope is, that I shall help your Honour to it with a cheaper bayt. I am to travel far, and I will not fail to inquire with good care after it, and in case that either in Italy or Germany, or elsewhere, I attain it, let me never return home if I look to keep it from my good Lord; I use that Imprecation, because I fear, by a word or two in your last Letter, that your Honour suspects fuch a matter in me. Whither I intend to go, your Honour hath receiv'd this last Week. If it please you to fignifie unto me the course you intend to take at your departing Alterph, that so I may find a means to direct my Letters unto your Honour. Carolus Clusius at the French Book-binders House, Der Fraven Rirchen in Franckfordt on the main, shall be left order with, to convey them unto me, whither your Honour may conveniently subscribe them; but I befeech your Honour not to convey your Letters by the English Merchants means unto him. The reason depends upon mine own private state, as I have only acquainted your Honour with before; for the most favourable and above my deferts, most friendly conclusion of your Honours Letter I humbly acknowledge my self thankful in all Duty ever. As I had written thus far, I was call'd out of my Study to receive another Letter from your Honour of ancienter date than the former by o dayes, which is only concerning the Steganographia. The doubts which your Honour doth cast, are wisely conceiv'd, and are such points, as without considering them, I had most rashly proceeded, but I assure your Homour, that of those, and the like, I spent a good time in discourse with him, and besides your Honours Objections, M 2112

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Objections, alleg'd further, that the Copy was unright, because mention was made in the Letter. of using no Incantations or malignis Spiritibus, which was unperform'd in the Book. He answered one himself in these Words, Die warbeyt zu reclen, ich halt nicht viel darauf, to say truth, I esteem it but little. But notwithstanding was of Opinion, that the Author himself had writ it. To prove that true, or false. I took the Book with me into the Emperour's Library, where I had before found certain Letters that Tritemius had written to Maximilian the First. I could observe no difference in the hands, which, as I writ your Honour, was my best argument. Out of it I gheft thus far, that it was an unperfect part of the first Copy as it came from the Author, in which Sentence I remain, notwithstanding your Honour's most probable Conjectures of the contrary. My reason and further confirmation to maintain either mine own Error or Judgment in it, drawn from the Style, which I dare pronounce to be no mans but Tritemius's; and to judge whether a Book be the right, or no, it is the means that cannot fail, otherwise there is no greater coulening in these Times, than in these Matters., I will not feek to defend it further than as a part of that Book which your Honour defires, how great a part I strive not, neither am I able, as being utterly rude in such cases, of easie belief; too hasty an humour, and foon handled as they please to deal with me. That it was ever printed I shall hardly think till I talk with him that bath feen it, or light upon the printed Copy my self. What I have done, was done in that Duty which I held my felf bound in toward your Honour. No further charges concerning that Book, than the seven Florins for the Posts hire, and I am right forry that your Honour doth

doth account his carriage not worth fo much. My hastiness in discovering mine own want of Discretion upon others cost, either years, or experience, or repentance must teach me to correct mine own nature, being so bad a Master that way. And now because I am leaving of Austria. I hold it my part to advertife my dear Lord the Estate of the Country, that he may the better judge of the truth of fuch Relations as shall come to his hands hereafter, which I desire that I may do with his good leave. The Emperour's Condition and Circumstances of his State are this present 1501 strange to consider, being greatly in debt to the Merchants of the Empire, Matters of flight expences hindered for lack of Money, complain'd on generally as owing more than he is able to pay in three years, if he should live as a private Gentleman, and his whole Revenues be put to Interest. Notwithstanding, in the Judgment of many, there are evident reasons that he should have a greater force of present Money than any of his Predecessors, at least, than his Father, as holding the three Crowns, Roman, Bohemian, Hungarian in his own hands, which in Maximilian's Reign went otherwife, not mingling himself in the Actions of the League, that he might charge the Empire, leading a retir'd Life with flender Expences of his Court, untroubled with Wars either defensive or offensive. fave the guarding of the Borders. His three Brothers Annuities discharg'd for 120000, himself 24000 pound sterling, the Sister principally maintain'd out of the Crown of France, the remainder his own, two fifths of Hungaria ( the rest being the Turks ) yielding him more in the tale of Cattel that come to the Market of Vienna, than former Emperours have made of three fourths, every Oxe being stinted in former times at l

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at half a Dollar, and now rais'd a Dollar and a half higher, which we may well account to bring him to the Kingdom 90000 Dollars yearly after 60000 to the Market, which number is in some-years too scant. Now for Mines of all forts, import of Merchandife, fruitfulness of the Land, and the like, he hath certainly less to complain than others before him. The confideration of these Circumstances have drawn fome into Opinion, that it is rather a feigned poverty in him, than otherwise, and that either he helps the League secretly with Supply of Money; or referves his Revenues for some great Action in hand; as for his borrowing it is a known device of latter Times, for great Men to pretend a Poverty, and shadow it with running in Debt. Against this Opinion, I have yet feen no greater grounds than that probably he would not let his Actions at home remain in fo loofe an Estate, if that were true; especially concerning the fending away of the Orator of the Empire, which should have been done in March, and was a Condition of the Turks in confirming the League to 1600. not without notable prejudice to the State. The other Party that defends the House of Austria to be in no less misery than the appearance is, alledge the feeking to introduce an Inquisition into the Land to have been the principal Cause of weakening the Emperor, as having drawn the Nobility and Gentlemen, and chief Burghers of Austria against him, and so disunited the Princes of the Empire from him with the free States, as he rather now feems to bear the Title of Emperor for fashionfake, than Authority to Command by virtue of it. So that whereas before in time of the States, or his private Necessities a --- was wont to be his Uhimum Refugium, and best Pawn in borrowing Money,

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(because the manner was to refer his Creditors to the next day) now the Princes maintaining themselves upon Stomach against him at home, will be call'd to no Contribution, every man live upon his own, and revenge private Quarrels with publick Pretences, a known practice of ancient times; which of these two are the truer, I cannot without further intelligence determine. The Emperor may mend the matter when he will, by yielding every man his Conscience at liberty, which either he must do fhortly, or peradventure Rodolph the Second will end the Empire after Three hundred years continuance in the House of Austria. Ernestus, the next Brother after him, I find not, besides the Annuity of 40000 - to have had any greater means of maintenance, till lately the Actorship of the three Lands, Steirmarch, Bernstein, and Brain; which is likely to bring him for the time of the Dukes minority, as much yearly as the half of his Annuity, if a way may be fought to separate the Dutchels from her Children. Before this fell unto him, he was observ'd to have been so busic in Religion, preferring some, disabling others, charging himself, as no doubt his Annuity came short of his Expences, (being a flender Sum to maintain an Arch-Duke, though he retire himself from all Action) whereupon it was certainly concluded, that either he must be greatly in Debt, or fecretly annointed by the Spiritualty to further the Cause; I hasten not to affirm either of both. The latter is dangerously gheft at by some : And such as had consider'd his Nature quick of dispatch, impatient to be resisted, of eminent inclination to stateliness and Royalty, so bold, as he spar'd not to say, he would rather his Life and Goods—than suffer the freedom of Religion

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Religion in the Land, did wonder that he fought not a way to increase his living, that so he might make room for his own humour, whereupon it was imagin'd that he staid himself a while upon hope that His Majesty would surrender unto him some of the three Crowns, as his Father had done before, and certainly the State requires it; but the Councellors of the Court being dealt with that way, have made this Answer, The Crown of Hungaria must lve in the Emperor's hands, because the Turk will hold no Band of Peace with a simple King, and that might indanger whole Christendom; The Roman, can be disposed of hereafter, His Majesty is yet young; The Bohemian is the Emperor's principal maintenance a fo retains he all three : and for ought I can observe, in that state they are likely to remain till his Death, which in man's judgment, by reason of the Diseases he is inclin'd unto, is likely to be sudden, and great Peril in that respect. Matthiat, belides his Annuity, hath no charge of the State, fave Regent-General of this Town in his Brother's ablence, which is rather a means to increase and raife his Expences than otherwife; yet hath he liv'd well upon it and with greater Moderation than the other two, medling so little with Religion, as he hath hardly escap't an opinion that he dissembles his Faith to hold in with the rest. The Hungarians have a great Fancy to him, not as exceeding his Brothers in Courage, or other vertues that might inlarge their State; but upon desire to the Name, which of all other hath done them most good; fo that Ernestus leeking that Crown, Matthias being fought, a great and hazardous emulation is likely to arile between them, which is noted never of speedier working than where the Concur-

Concurrents are Brothers. I cannot find that he is much in debt, fave only to the Cloister of Newburg, which being founded by Leopoldus Marquefs of Austria, and consequently a ---- the Brothers of that House are bold in borrowing, not hafly in refloring again. Maximilian, next the Emperour, of all the Brothers best provided, having, besides his Annuity of 40 m. the Office of the Dutch Order, (which questionless, in matter of Gain, is the principallest place of the Empire) so that we may, upon good grounds, account his Revenues of both together, at 140000: Florins, Rhenift 28000 Pound English yearly. Yet hath he so wasted himself with standing for the Crown of Poland, as of all the Brothers (the Emperour excepted ) he is generally held the greatest in debt, and hath therefore betaken himself to a Students life, drawn in the charges of his Court, and lives solitary, to come forward again, as some interpret. So are the sour Brothers. The Sifter, and Widdow of France, lives at no greater cause of Charges in her Court and Retinue, than a principal Prioress The rest, receiv'd out of France, which her Husband left her by Will, and her Portion in Austria, either she helps her Brothers with, or bestows it in Religious Uses, to repair Cloisters, maintain poor Scholars, Stipends of Jesuits, and the like. Now as concerning the Seats of the three Brothers, Emefius here, Matthias at Lintz, Maximilian at Newstadt, it is deducted out of their Annuity, which they came unto, Patto, non Jure, lest Austria should have been divided, and by division, either the House weakned, or the Love between them, as the manner is-Other Circumstances there are of great importance, but too long for a Letter, and out of these may well

well be observ'd, how much either Ambition, or Prodigality, or inforcing of Consciences, or lastly, Lust and Pleasure, have decay'd almost the Noblest House of Christendome, in the Descent of one degree. I leave all to your Honour's Judgment and Wisdom, and my self to his Love; and I beseech our merciful good God to grant us an happy meeting in sweet England.

Written in regard of my Duty and Service toward your Honourthis 17th of April, C Lo Lo XCI. Style of Rome, At Vienna in Austria.

Your Honour's Servant,

#### HENRY WOTTON

#### April 21. 1591. Vienna.

My most Honoured Lord,

Have this present return'd unto your Honout the Book of Arms and Descents. The Picture of the States of the Empire sitting in Parliament, which belongs to an empty Page toward the end of the Dutch Book, is likewise sent withall. Concerning the Steganography, I can by none of those means that I advertis'd this last Week of, pass surther than I have, and I am asraid I have gon too far, because in your last Letters I find some displeasure. No man is more sorry of his own Faults than my self, and especially then when I think to have done well, which

which I let rest as one of my follies, to his Love and Judgment that hath pardon'd many of them. The Portraiture of the Lust-houses I have not gotten por by reason of my short abode here cannot. The reason of failing in my promise is truly this, some eight or nine Weeks since, I determin'd to take a Painter with me upon the next fair day, which I fignified by Letter. In the mean time (while I waited on the Weather ) D. Blotius signified unto me, that the Master of his Majesties Architecture had it in length, breadth and heigth, ready model'd and squar'd out, with all Proportions, I found means quickly to have him mov'd in my behalf, and my self was present. His answer was unto me, that he had lent it out to a certain Italian, who was not as then in Vienna, but to return shortly, upon his first coming home he would meiner gavistich ingedanck, fein, those were his very Words. I renew'd the promise afterward by others means. The Italian was not yet come; yesterday I went my self unto his house in the Town, and receiv'd answer, that he was not in the Town, but himself and whole Family in a house a mile from hence, where he meant to Summer. I walk'd out unto him, and maintain'd his promise, who gave me answer, that he had dealt with the Italian, but could not recover it again of him, and besides added, that it was a matter of fome fuspition; by which word I well perceiv'd that he had it, but without some Crowns to still the sufpition, I could not come to it. So is the manner. I would willingly (my good Lord) have offered him fecretly, that which I easily understood to be his defire, but mine own fury hinder'd me, and I departed from him in such a chate, as I would not have given a Dutch Heller to have fay'd his Life, that had

had so little regard to save his Promise to me, and consequently mine to your Honour; but I excuse him in this point, and defire to have the whole fault laid upon my felf, that trufted a Fool fo far; I use these unreverent Words unto your Honour more than beseems me. In my last I advertis'd the general State and Condition of the Brothers of the Houle of Auftria, with the incident Circumstances. We have fince receiv'd intelligence of a dangerous matter discover'd at Gratz, where a Masfacre of the Lutherans should have been committed, and the Complot written in ten sheets of Paper, which a Bandito ( as some, and the most say, receiving from Rome, others, feigning and devising himself) lent by his Servant to the Chappel-Master in the Jesnit Colledg, commanding him to deliver it to his own hands. The Messenger went unright, and took his way directly to the Chappel-Master of the Lutheran side, by error of the word, who read the Discourse openly in the Counsel-house, caus'd the Gates to be well guarded, expostulated the matter with the Duke, made the Italian to be drawn in, advertis'd the Emperour of it by Post, and sent the Copy withall. His Majesties Mandate is expected, further we hear not yet. There is a certain English Northern man in this Town, born at Newcastle, who hath ferv'd the King of Denmark, Suecia, and Poland, travell'd the seventeen Provinces, Moscovia, Liefland, France, been taken Prisoner in Spain, cousen'd by another English man in Italy of all his Money and Apparel, lives now by sweetning of Gloves, shall marry with a Concubine of the Jesuits, as some say, but as I hear more probably with a common Cortefan, upon condition if he can be made Burger of Vienna. He hath lately given up a Supplication to Xx2

the Arch Duke to be entertain'd in Service, and receiv'd a round answer that touches out whole Nation. That the Dutch can get no service in England. and the English are like to find the like here: but if he want Money to bring him home, or buy him some honest Apparel, for the honour of his Queen he shall have so much given him. This answer was fent him yesterday by one of the Dukes Servants. His Name is Abraham Miller, of a very low Stature, a great Drunkard, full of Words and Lies, not able to keep his own Difhonesties close, which he tells with a pride, red-fac'd, if he come unto your Honour von may know him by this Description. And thus ( my most honoured Lord ) craving Pardon for the Faults of my former Letters, which either want of Leifure or Judgment, have been cause of: I leave your Honour to the Almighties Protection. and my felf to the continuance of your friendly Love, which I humbly defire.

Written the 21th of April, in Vienna in Austria, CLD Lo XCI ftyle of Rome.

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

#### May 8. 1592. Florence.

Any point in this that concerns my felf, I befeech that no man may fee but your Honour.

#### My most Honoured Lord,

Can defer this Duty no longer, though my leifure be this prefent little to perform to much as is occurrent unto me, concerning this last Journey of mine, or rather Adventure, which (leaving all unprofitable Words apart) hath been in this manner. Since taking of my humble leave of your Honour in Padoa, have paffed three Months, of which time I have spent one Month and two Dayes in Rome, eight in Naples, the rest in continual Motion. till the 25th of April, on which day I returned to Florence. From Venice to Rome I had the Company of the Baron of Berloc, with whom, notwithstanding his Catholick Religion, I enter'd into very intrinfecal Familiarity, having perfuaded him that I was half his Country-man, himfelf being born; though under the D. of Cleeve, yet not far from Collen, which went for my Town. I found him by Conversation to be very undiscreet, soon lead, given much to Women, careless of Religion, (qualities notably ferving my purpose) for while a man is held in Exercise with his own Vices, he hath little leisure to observe others, and besides, to seign my self an accommodable Person unto his humour in all points, was indeed most convenient for me, loosness of behaviour, and a negligent worldly kind of Carriage of a mans felf, are the least Faults that States fear, because they hurt only him in whom they are  $X \times 3$ found.

found. To take the benefit of this, I enter'd Kome with a mighty blue Feather in a black Hat; which, though in it self it were a slight matter, yet surely did it work in the Imaginations of men three great effects. First, I was by it taken for no English, upon which depended the ground of all. Secondly, I was reputed as light in my Mind as in my Apparel, (they are not dangerous men that are fo.) And thirdly, no man could think that I defir'd to be unknown, who, by wearing of that Feather, Itook a course to make my self famous through Rome in few days. These Judgments and Discourses of the People passing by me, and some pointing at me, I was fain to suffer. Safety, and a Conscience clear before my God, were the things I fought there. Credit is to be look'd unto in England. And thus flood my Entrance: Ten days after my Arrival in Rome, I departed toward Naples, occasioned by a Fever that had taken me the day before, which I imputed partly unto the streight and rascal Dyet of that Town in Lent, and in part to the ill Weather which we had on the way; though perhaps indeed it were not without some disorder, after the Dutch Manner, amongst as mad Priests as I think may be found in this World. To Naples I came on the 18th. of March, certainly, through the goodliest Country that God hath allotted unto mortal men to run their Glory in, if Virtue were as frequent as Pleafure. From this Town I departed on the 25th. of the same, by Water, in a Wherry of Genoua, that I might so consider the Maritime Towns, as before I had seen the principal Mediterranean of that Kingdom: a course not without danger, as well in respect of the Turks Corsaires, as likewise Smallness of the Vessels prepard for Transport of Passengers: yet

yet was the Event good, and I arriv'd at Neptune in two days. Neptune is a Town fituate upon the Bank of the Tirrhen, thirty fix Italian Leagues from Rome by Land, and from Ostia by Water, belonging to the House of Colonna, though in the Pope's Territories: in commodity of Fish thought to bring yearly about 13000 Crowns; of reasonable Strength; but meanly peopled, and (as it feems) fome Colony of the ancient Greeks, whose Attire the Women yet hold, though the men, as commonly more Stirrers from home, have heard of the Italian Civility. Here I kept my Easter, occasioned by change of the Wind from full-East to full-South, which otherwise I determined to have done at Oftia; for on Easter-day I meant not to accompany the Pope to Saint Lateran. When the Easter was for the chiefest part past, occasion wanting by Sea, I return'd to Rome on the Tuesday, by Land, and there continued three Weeks; and my purpose was to have made longer abode there, (notwithstanding the rumour of the solemn day to be celebrated here by the great Duke on the 26th. of April) because I found very profitable Points to be learn'd of the Pope's Court, and was grown somewhat cunning in the Prattick of Rome; but Fortune hath her part to play in all humane Actions, and I was driv'n away by intervent of that Gentleman that only hath feen your Honour's License; I desire pardon to describe him no farther. This man was by chance invited by a Scottish Gentleman unto Supper in the place where I had my Table, calling me unto a sudden and dangerous Deliberation, standing upon these two Doubts: First, Whether it were best for me to sup there, or no, that night. Secondly, If to change my Lodging, or leave Rome, were the discreetest part. Xx 4 The

The first I had drawn into no question, but that the Circumstances stood perillously. The Table was cover'd, the Sallad (our first Dish) serv'd in, all the Gentlemen in the Chamber, fave the Scot, and amongst them, my self, every man ready to take his place, and in that instant came the Scottish Gentleman in with his Guest, whom belike (after the manner of his Country) he fent first into his Chamber; giving me so much time to resolve the first Doubt, as till he came forth again. In thort, I supp'd not with him, making the best excuse of Departure that I could accommodate unto the time. For determination of the fecond Doubt, I had a Nights respite; that the Man was dangerous, I set down for certain. His Conversation in Venice with Persons suspected, Practice and Familiarity heretofore with the old Earl of Northumberland, which I had receiv'd from his own Mouth, travelling to Rome without Language, Discovery of himself there to the English and Scottish Nation, were Points that pleas'd me not. (Not to hold your Honour long) I resolved to leave Rome as secretly, and with as great expedition, as might be; which I performed, my State sceming unto me not unlike a bad Game at Mame, wherein the first Vye being seen, the Cards are given up before the second. And now (most Honourable) having advertis'd the generalty of this my Journey, before I come to Matter of Publick use, I crave Pardon to say something of my felf. No English man, containing himself within his Allegiance to her Majesty, hath seen more concerning the Points of Rome, than I have done; which I speak absolutely without Exception: I have been present at three Solemnities of the Roman Church, the Confectation of the Role, Marriage, and

and Distribution of Dowries unto the Virgins, and the taking of Possession; which is accounted the principal Sight that may be feen in these Parts. The Whore of Babylon I have feen mounted on her Chair, going on the ground, reading, speaking, attird and difrob'd by the Cardinals, or rather, by Montatto alone, in both her Mitres, in her Triple-Crown, in her Lettica, on her Moyl, at Mass, and lastly, in publick Consistory. Certain other private Points, which are not to be committed unto Letter. (because I know not the event of a piece of Paper) I will defer till the rendring of my felf unto your Honour's Sight and Service. Of Rome, in Short, this is my Opinion, or rather indeed, my most affured Knowledge, That her Delights on Earth are fweet, and her Judgments in Heaven heavy. Now will I deliver briefly unto your Honour such Accidents as have been occurrent during the time of my Abode in Rome, and in the Realm of Naples; concerning this Pope's Humour, and Inclination of matters there, upon which certainly do depend the greatest and most important Conjectures of Christendom in the consequences of Estate. Clement, the eighth of that Name, and third Pope of Florence, is a man of scant reasonable Stature, sooner pale of Complexion than otherwise, gross of Body, of Countenance apt enough to Authority, and hath indeed the greatest Presence amongst the Cardinals, except Montelbero, and Cajetan, which some account one of his helps to the Seat. His Years, fifty five, he bears well, though his Spirits have been fomewhat weaken'd with the Gout; yet some say, that he feigns that Disease, being very accommodable to excuse a coming forth now and then where the occasion requires; as hath been noted in other Popes,

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Popes, and in him once fince the Coronation. The colour of his Face was, as all generally agree, more fresh during the time of his Cardinalship, than since, and certain speculative Wits, that search out the causes of things, have found, that upon a Pasquinata set forth against him in form of a Prophesie. wherein stood express'd the 28th of March, for the day of his death, he fell into trouble of mind, which is taken to have wrought that effect in his Body; a Report truly, though mixt with envy, yet hot wholly without ground, as hath appear'd by the fenfible alteration of his Countenance fince April began, and upon the expiring of that day in March, he is said to have used, unto Don Diego del Campo, very cheerful Words at Night concerning that Prophesie; Superstition never impair'd the Complexion of Saint Peter, though it have a stroke in his Succeffor. To proceed further unto his Inclination and Nature, which rather hath been gather'd by publick Edicts, or out of certain open Facts done by his Authority, or lastly, by observing the course of the Court; I speak during my time in Rome, because in his Letter I will advertise your Honour of nothing which I have not in part, or wholly seen my self. Publick Edicts, or Bandi, from the time of my coming, to my departure have been fix. 1. In the first was contain'd the Renovation of the Taglia concerning the Banditi, Prohibition of Weapons by day or night, even to a Knife. A box of the Ear given in the Suburbs made Capital, &c. Matter of ordinary use in all Popes times, but now commanded with more severity. 2. In the second al dishoneste Donne are banish'd out of the Corps of the City to the Piazza padella or bortaccio, by which remove, the Governour of the Town hath openly confess'd himself

himself to have gain'd 15000 Crowns with artificial handling of the matter; and the Pope being defirous to know the number of these Women, the cense was found 40000 and certain hundreds as the Baron of Didrichstein reported from the Popes Mouth. 3. The third Edict was wholly against the Tews, imposing upon them, of three things, necessarily one; either to keep against the Banditi 400 Horse in Campania, or to maintain the Bread at one Baiocho the pound, or imbagagliare. A Proposition scarce to be expected even in tempi fantascuorim, as the Hebrews fay, but we heard of no execution, for (as fome hold) his Holiness, besides extream unction, hath been anointed with Crowns of the Son. 4. In the fourth bands, the Julios of Bolognia are disvalued two quatrini, and some order taken for other Money; certainly a point of most necessary consideration in Rome, where great are the disorders that way; notwithstanding some think that Palgotto will retract the Bando if he come to be Pope. 5. In the fifth Edia, all Strangers are forbidden to carry out of the City above the value of five Crowns of Gold, a Statute very discommodious, profitable to Merchants, and therefore fear'd that the first motion came from the Bank. 6. The fixth and last, which I have feen, is an extention of the two, wherein all dishonest Women, of open Protession, are prohibited to wear any fort of Silk or Gold, either in Suits or Lace, to turn up or curl their Hair after the manner of Rome, with the like; and in this matter hath Clement the Eighth gone in short time further than Sixtus the Fifth, though impossible to effect, as he often faid, during the time of his Life. Upon my departing from Rome, there was speech that the Pope meant to fet forth an Edict concerning the brewing of Beer

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Beer in Rome, which he hath determined to make as common there as in the Towns of Almaigne, and Order taken for import of Hops. The fecond means whereby I have been able to ghess at his Inclination, is, by certain open Facts in the Administration of Justice, done upon his Authority, wherein the Mortality of the Popes going before, Suspition of some present, his Experience by Travel in the Humours of men, the exasperated minds of his Competitors, and lastly, the Examples of his own home, have made him a man of a very round and perillous proceeding. In the Week before Easter, on Wednesday, two Artificers, fighting only with their Fifts in the open Street, and the Pope's Serjeants coming to imprison them, they fled into the Cardinal Farnese his House. The Officers pressing in, were at the door relisted by four of the Cardinal's ordinary Servants, and the Maior domo, who told them, that he would deliver the Malefactors unto them, and unto Justice, but desir'd withall, that they being the Pope's under Officers, would not enter the House so furiously, without Reverence or Respect of the Cardinal, his Master. In that sence were the words which he utter'd. The Serjeants retir'd presently to the Pope, who was then in the Vatican, and made relation how it stood. To be short, the next morning were the four Servants hang'd, and the Maior domo beheaded by the Bridge of Sr. Angelo. This Maior domo was a grave Aged Person, and had serv'd the old Cardinal Farnese even from his youth, having carried himself with fuch Fidelity, and generally to all in fo good a fort, as he had won the love of many Roman Gentlemen, which certainly was the cause of his Death, so dangerous a thing is it to have the good will of fome.

fome. The Cardinal Farnese, having thus suddenly, without Process of Justice, lost in twenty four hours the chiefest Repose of his House, crav'd, as some say, the Sentence after the Execution, but that I have found false, and, as far as I could understand, he stirr'd no farther in it, than only in difpatching fecretly two Posts, one to his Father the Duke, the other to the King of Spain; which the Pope understanding, sent away two other, with Commandment expressive, to open the Cardinal's Letters, and in case they were found only to advertise the Fact, to let them pass, if any other important Point were in them, to bring them back. The Cardinal had only fignified the Fact, as suspecting (belike) the risconter of the Pope's Courriers, and fince then that matter hath been quiet in open appearance.

Nota, From the day of the Execution, until the Saturday in the Easter Week, the Pope appear of not publickly, feigning himself sick, for sear of Tumults abroad, as some say, as others, for a kind of male-contentedness with his own action. Howsover, the Benediction was by this means not given throughout the whole Settimana Santa, as they call it, or the Easter Holy dayes, nor supplied by Gesualdo the Deacon. A notorious Desect, and never seen be-

fore fince the Pope began.

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Two dayes after the Possession taken, sour of the principal Gentlemen of Rome were secretly hang'd in the Castle, amongst whom was an Vrsno, a Colonna, and one of the Sabelli, only for having been found in their Houses certain Weapons, whereby was concluded a Consederation with the Banditi, upon very weak grounds; but the natural harred between the Families of Florence and Rome, and certain other pri-

vate quarrels fallen out during the time of the Pope's Cardinalship, makes it now an easie matter to hang a Roman Gentleman; the manifest beginnings of a dangerous time, wherein Revenge is taken for Justice. These are the two principal Points of Fact executed by the Pope fince his Coronation, and during my time in Rome. Lately is come forth two Bandi, citing to Rome one of the Colonna's and Verginio Urfino di Lamentana, Governour of Verona, who came with me towards Rome to fetch his Wife, but enter'd not the Town, because in a manner before he had been banded by Sixtus the Fifth. Colonna holds himself, or his Castle, not far from Rome, searing the Lions den. Verginio Urfino is as I hear fallen in amongst the Banditi, and hath set up himself as a Leader, and makes great stir about the City, and in the Popes Territories. Of this I can affirm nothing, but the Intelligence seems very probable, and certainly ( if it be true ) it is likely to prove a matter of great consequence, the Gentleman being one of the chief of Rome, maintained by the Venetians, joyn'd in an affinity with the Cardinal Salviati, ex-ceedingly favour'd by the great Duke; informuch as it is probably thought that Alfonso Piccioliminis's Death was haften'd for his fake, having been his mortal Enemy. If this matter grow to a greater Maturity, your Honour shall not fail to hear of it. The third Means to found his Disposition and Nature, is, by observing the course of the Court, and the Popes Devices to prolong his own Life, an Argument of great Vanity, because depending upon the Paffions of Men, which vary as they love or hate. To which this may be the entrance, that howfoever matters are dispos'd abroad, yet doth the Pope live few days or many, according as points are eftablish'd

establish'd at home. To put down the Gentility of Rome is not enough, but presently upon it hath follow'd the advancement of Strangers, so that the Barons of Didrichstein and Barristain are become Camerieri participaniti, a favour more gracious than regular. Don Diego del campo of Cambray, one of the meanest Servitors of the Pope while he was Cardinal Aldobrandino, now Cameriere Canonico, and even Montalto himself, or Sforza, must give him the Illustriffime Signor, if he will come to speak with his Holines; and indeed prefer'd unto it upon no special good Parts that are in him, but because the Pope hath noted in some points his Fidelity, a vertue in suspitious times of speediest Operation to Advancement. These three are the principal Persons trusted to come near unto the Popes Body, about which he loves to have only Dutch hands stirring. Of Cardinals in generality, all are suspected that are either meerly Spanish, or meerly hold of Florence, because the Pope means to ballance his own Estate, and to carry himself as it were in a mediety between the King of Spain, and the great Duke, which humor of his is collected by words that he hath spoken. For in all Questions had of France, his Answer is, that he will compose those matters, which word sounding the like in their vulgar, as in our Tongue is interpreted, that he will draw the Parties to agreement without feeking either to advance the League, or help the Navarrish side; and certainly he must play no otherwise as his Cards are. In speciality are suspected both the Colonna's, the Cardinal of Arragon, Santasevenna, Madrutius, Farnese, since death of the Major domo, and even Populi too, notwithstanding his accompaning of the Pope at the Possession, taken even into his inward Chamber, when all the other Car-

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Cardinals left him at Monte Cavallo, which I add by digrefion to make your Honour laugh at a Fool. Cardinals whom the Pope doth use in all private Consultations are only two, Salviati and Morifeni the Venetian, whereby he is observ'd, to not do his matters upon his own Judgment, as Sixtus the Fifth. but rather after the manner of Gregory the XIII. or to compare him with the two of Florence, he is thought more of the impression of Lee the Tenth. than Chement the Seventh, notwithstanding, that in stifness of Action, and round dexterity, he seeks to imitate the latter. His using of Morisin's Counsel is thought a dangerous point, and much discours'd on, as being a Man formewhat fulpected in the matters of France, for which he had almost lost his Head, in the first year of Sixtus V. Salviati is favour'd rather for Country-fake, and by him to found our the Motions of the great Duke, than for other fitness; being indeed a man of very ordinary Vertue, though Papable, and further, greatly accosted by the Roman Gentlemen, which peradventure may make his dayes short; and thus it stands in the Popes Court, concerning such Persons as he doth either love or fear, wherein doth confift the ground of every Action at home. To conclude, all points confider'd together, it is thought, that not only by the strength of his Body, but further, by the craftiness of his proceeding, he will live long. Of the making of Cardinals, Peregrination of Maximilian Arch-Duke of Austria to Rome, Matters of Poland, some points of the Realm of Naples, and such accidents as have had their occurrence here for the great Dukes Court fince my coming, your Honour shall (God willing) receive in my next, by the first Occasion. My Lord Zouch and Henry Wotton are especially laid wait for in

in Rome, and thorough the King of Spain's Dominions, as I have been fignified; and here in Florence I find the beginnings of a notable Villany, for one (either of Venice or Padoa) hath written unto a certain Florentine, of great practick with Strangers, to enquire after me amongst the Dutch Nation, which was done not long after my departure from Venice. I have not yet search'd out the bottom of it.

Most Honourable, Pardon my many Words, and hold me in your Favour, and so commending your Honour's safety unto the Lords Protection, I rest at your Service.

Florence, and on the 8th of May-92. ftyle of Rome.

At your Honour's Commandment,

#### HENRY WOTTON.

Since I ended this, I have had a very troublesom

fit of an Ague.

If any English Gentleman of your Honour's Acquaintance have occasion to repair to Florence, I humbly desire he may be commended to me, who will be ready to shew him all Service, and am now very desirous of the English Company.

I am

Henrico Wottono Inglese nella casa di sip Baccio Boni in Via larga in Florence.

Yy

# May 29. 1582. Florence.

# Most Honour'd Lord,

Since my last, written unto your Honour from Florence, till this present, I have had a very unquiet time; I was with my last Journey much distemper'd, which could not cause less than an Ague. In Sickness we have care of our Life, and forget our Duties: so that I have rested your Honour's Debtor, the Peregrination of the Arch Duke Maximilian

to Rome, three Posts, which I will now pay.

His Highness arriv'd in the City on Tuesday in the Settimana Santa, as they term it, accompanied with three others, of which one went for the Master of all. The Arch Duke was attir'd in flight Leather, without any manner of Trimming, his hat button'd up on the one fide, his Cloak clasp'd together in the neck, and turn'd over upon his shoulder, the one fide of his Face, and a good part of his Forehead, handled like a Servant newly come from blacking his Masters Saddle. The first, second, and better part of the third day, he spent in Religious. Services, as beholding the Relicks, Visitation of the feven Churches, &c. On Thursday toward Evening, he discover'd himself to two Jesuits, that were lately come from Vienna, in meaning to be brought by them unto the Cardinal Madrutz. The Cardinal us'd prattick to bring him to the Pope, which then was not easie, for an accident had fallen out in Rome, that occasion'd the Pope to seign himself sick, from Thursday before Easter to the Saturday after Easter, as I signified unto your Honour. Notwith-**Standing** 

standing Madratz dealt in it with exceeding diligence, and the Arch Duke came to conference with the Pope in the Vatican on Friday at night before Eafter. The cause of his coming was more conjecturable than certain: for though men of great ludgment held that it was only to withfrand the Marriage between the King of Poland and Daughter of Austria. yet wanted not some that said, the Arch-Duke had given over those desires; the time was too scant for fuch an effect, the match cross'd nor his proceedings; and further, the Pope was not to be dealt with that way, who had delegated, some thirty days before. the Card. Razevil into those Parts, to no other effect, than to confurnate the Marriage; fo that it was rather to be thought he came to have the Emperour follicited by Papal Letters to surrender unto him the Roman Crown, or that of Hungaria: This was the fecond Opinion. Since his departure (which was prefently after the Holv Dayes) we hear the marriage day (appointed as on the 26 of April past) to have been rejourn'd till that day three Weeks following. Some stirs are expected. The Popes Present unto him at his leave-taking was, a Medaglia in Gold, of his own Person, and a hollow sewel, having in it a piece of the Cross on which Christ was crucified (as he made him believe) and annexed unro it an Indulgence of 8000 years; (notable Religion) This Journey hath caus'd a Quarrel in Rome, and call'd the Cardinal Madrutz and Altemps, Card. di Santa Maria in Frastevere, almost to the question. Altemps storming that the matter was not participated to him, he was a Dutch man, as well as the other, and as fecret, and as great with the Pope and belides. had bestowed upon the Arch-Duke's Cousen German, the Cardinal of Aufria, certain Spiritual li-Y v 2

vings about his Bishoprick in Switzerland. As for Madrutz, he had never helpt the House of Austria with one Bajocco. In these terms it stands between them. To come to other matters; the Pope continues his violent proceeding, Roman Gentlemen lofe their Heads by eight, fix, and four at a time: Urfini, Sabelli, Colonna, Principality of Family makes no ftop: Don Verginio Urfino, Duke of Bresciano, with his Wife, the Neece of Sixtus the Fifth, are come to an accord with the great Duke to fojourn some two or three years here in Court; he thinks it not amis to have 120 Italian Leagues between him and the Pope. Of the other Verginio Urfino di Lamentana, Governour of Verena, (against whom was served forth a Citation) we hear nothing; because he hath taken the Woods. Zanchi Carnasecchi, a Gentleman of Florence, return'd home out of Spain this last Sunday, where he was imploy'd to demand the 600000 Crowns that the deceased Duke Francisco lent the King out of the Treasury: His Majesty will pay his Debts when he hath won France, the Gran Duke must have patience. Of Roan and those matters it were in vain for me to advertise any thing, because your Honour intercepts the Market, which vantage we have here of Venice in the points of Rome. Only I will fignifie the Occurrents of a Letter which a Gentleman imparted unto me yesterday, having interpreted it for the Gran Duke. In it the Prince is counsell'd, that if he think he shall want Souldiers in short time for any purpole, there may be answer fent speedily into Germany, for the Duke of Lotheringe hath fent secretly to have taken up for him four Regiments of Dutab Infantrie, so that it is to be doubted there will be a scarcity of good Captains hereafter, and therefore not unfit for the Duke to fpeak

foeak in time. This was the substance, the Letter was written by one Gaus Conster van Rattevan, who receives of the Gran Duke 1000 Crowns in yearly Pension, for no other service than taking up of Dutch Souldiers at his commandment, as occasions occur.

Touching my private felf, I continue in the house of Signor Bacchio Boni, in Via larga, where I am reafonably well accomodated, but for my ten Crowns a Month; The times are dear in extremity. I think to remain in these Parts this Summer, and as I imagine, between your Honours departure out of Italy and mine, there will be no great difference. If any thing occour wherein I may serve your Honour, I beseech it will please you not to let me be ignorant of it. And so (my good Lord) recommending my felf unto your most honourable Favour and Love, I humbly take my leave for this present 29th of May. 1502.

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

## June 13. 1592. Florence.

#### Most Honourable,

Receiv'd your Letters of the third of June, on I the eleventh of the fame, and am glad to hear that your Honour is so royally well accommodated, my Cosen Wrath gave me some intelligence of his departure, by his of the 13th of May, the cause he fought

fought to hold from all, belike standing in terms of fome uncertainty, the reason which your Honour adds is not small. You are fallen (my Lord) into a Punishment with the opening of Wicham's Letter. which is, that I intreat your Honour to do the like with all the reft, if any atrive to your Hands; there can never be written any Secret to me, which I will not (faithfully) be glad to have you know before me. It is likely enough that Wickam will come Thortly to Padea unto the Brother of his Baron (as I take it ) relident there a Gentleman of some eighteen years. I have of News-better store than liefure to write them, which yet I will leave unto your Honour's Wisdom in short sums. The Gran Duke grows (as Weapons do) rufty with Peace, and we have an Action towards with the State of Genoua about Sarezana, a Town pledg'd unto that Common-Wealth for Money, and retain'd as forfeited; because the contract being, that the Sum should be revalued by a certain day, before the Noon Ave-Mary; the Duke keeping (as the manner of Princes is) just his hour, was deceiv'd by the Genuesers, who caus'd it to be founded an hour or two before ordinary. The King of Spain's Counsel hath been ask'd in it, as I hear, and the Duke been admonish'd to recover it by force of Arms. It is not amiss to put him in Negotiation at home. What the end will be I know not, but all the great Artillery are carried to Pifa, and by night, one after another, for fecrefie fake: Souldiers are muster'd dispersedly; some think the Duke will have a cast at Luca, both under one, but those are Words. As it shall grow to a further Maturity, your Honour shall receive the Circumstances. The Baron of Didrichstein hath lately held a Disputation in Rome, whereunto he invited

invited the Pope, and the Colledge of Cardinals. I hear him to have been very well approved in it. Of the first Cherries which the Pope had on his Table, he caus'd some to be carved unto him, with this Message in his Ear, that he was likely to get a Cap of that colour. A childish jest for the head of the Church. A certain Ferrarele, advancing in Italy the Platonical Doctrine, hath lately been call'd to Rome, whre he was put in presence of the Pope, to dispute with Tolledo the Spaniard, whom he so soyl'd, as presently upon it by commandment of the Pope he was clad in purple, and had a place affign'd him in the house of his Nephew Conthio Aldobrandino. The Baron of Bemstein is delegated into Poland with the Rose, which I saw consecrated in Rome, to present it unto the King. How that Marriage goes forward we hear nothing. The Pope begins to flack the Bridle, according to the old rule, that there is no diuturnities in Violence. Out of Germany is much written me: and amongst the rest this, that Sir Edward Stafford should be Secretary in England. I receive it in a Letter of the eighth of May, my Brother's last of the thirtieth of March makes no mention of it. The Bishop of Strasberg Manderstried is departed this life, and Truchfess is thought to be the Man that shall have the place, but with no great ease. Richard of Simem writes himself still Administrator of the Palatinate, notwithstanding that the young Prince ( as your Honour knoweth) came to years on the fifth of March past, style of England, but there is little fear of him, being Gar baufullig of seventy years: there is other News out of those Parts, but stale, and no doubt occurrent unto your Honour at Padoa. The Duke of Parma was certainly shot in the right Arm two Fingers above the Pulse, and the Bullet Y y 4 went

went up toward his Elbow, at the taking out of which, he caus'd many Souldiers to be present, that they might fee it was a wound of no importance, a thing very confiderately done, to avoid Rumors in the Camp. It is written in a private Letter, that the General of the English was slain with a Musket, the day after he had challeng'd the young Duke of Guife in private Combat, for having spoken bad Words of her Majesty. If it be true that Renuccio Farnese is flain, it will work two effects in these parts; The Great Duke must seek a new Husband for his Neece in Court, and the Cardinal Duarte Farnese is likely in short time to lay aside the Capello; I abound this Week in such points of little importance, of which your Honour hath the best. Of mine own Estate I have little to fignifie. Private men, when they are once fetled, receive small alteration, because Fortune hath, in such as I am, not much to work upon. I leave the care of the World to Kings. If any matter of weight stir in Florence, it shall not fail in five or fix dayes to be with your Honour, whom I humbly defire not to trouble his better cares with answer, because I write not to that end, but to the performance of the Duty that I owe, though I will ever (my Lord) keep your Letters as most pretioufly dear unto me. And so with humble recommendation of my felf unto your Fayour, I wish your Honour (in our Tuscan Phrase) a most happy Repatriation.

Written in Florence this 13th of June 1592. Style of Italy.

Your Honour's Servant, HENRY WOTTON.

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Unto the Deliverer of this, I beseech your Honour to Dar dell buon viso. He hath seen you in Altorph, and is a Gentleman of so good prattick in matter of Fortification, as the Gran Duke hath us'd him in diversthings; and no doubt he had obtain'd a very important Office in this State, but for the implausibility of his Person, which Princes regard. In other points he is Dutch.

### June 25. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

BY the last ordinary I supplied not this Duty, be-cause I wanted matter, since then there is something occurrent. The Marquels of Guafto we hold to be arrived in Milan, having (as they fay) cashier'd himself upon some difference between him and the Cavalier of Piacenza. ( so is Renucci Farnese styld in the Camp) It may be that he is dispatch'd in Post upon some other Negotiation, and the former given forth as a colour. The D. of Mantua hath enter'd Correggio, (a Town on this fide of the Po) and chas'd away 300 Spaniards that were in Garrison, upon death of the former Governour, who held the Town in absolute Authority, but yet at his Catholick Majesties Devotion: The thing is not in it self of fo great importance, as consequence: because by this means humours that were before still and unknown, are now discover'd. The King of Spains Coat Cards begin to fall away. Earl Peter Ernest of Mansfeld is departed this life, and the P. of Parma return'd to Bruffels on the second of this, having left his Son in the Frontiers of France to govern the remnant of the Soccaures. Of the Death of the Bishop of Strasburg I advertis'd your Honour in my last, whom (as they say) a Son of the Elector of Brandenburg hath succeeded and some stir at his Inauguration. The Pope is fallen to a marvellous calm in his Actions, having belike taken out of the way certain fears that troubled him. Of more Cardinals not a word stirring, and some fay, it is to save charges, others attribute it unto his Judgment, that will do things confiderately and not in hafte; A third will have it, that he is not ambitious in the prefer-ment of his Friends. The World is full of distinctions, so that shortly all Princes Faults will grow to be Vertues. Your Honour was wish'd here this Week, to have feen the Royalty of our Feaft-day of St. John, wherein there were, in my Opinion, many things of very great magnificence. It was somewhat more than ordinary, upon the arrival of the Count di Santo Frere in the Court here, who is espous'd unto Leonora Urfina, but of the Marriage-day no speech; for the Great Duke hath desire to celebrate the Marriage of his Neece, and the other, both in one day, because they have been joyntly brought up together, and (for congruity fake ) apparell'd all days alike. The fore-nam'd Earl is the Nephew of the lively Cardinal Sforza, a Gentleman of some eighteen years, his living as yet not above 2000 pound sterling, but after decease of the Cardinal likely to be very great; in Person not tall nor low, and one of the worst Faces that a man shall ordinarily see, so that some think Lenora Ursina would be contented to revoke the Match, and take her first offer. There hath been words of Marriage, the young Duke of Bavaria with the Gran Dukes Neece fince the Rumor of Renueci his Death, which yet now is differified. Out of England I have receiv'd no Letters Letters fince my last unto your Honour, which I fent by a Dutch Gendeman. On Thursday, amongst other Solemnities, all the Cities and Towns of the Dukedom were call'd in order, which is promis'd me written, and (if men fail not with me ) your Honour shall receive it by the next Post. I would there were any other good thing in these Parts that I might with Friendship or Industry obtain to shew my duty in, and to fatisfie in some little part mine own defire to do your Honour Service. Machiavil's Tales, and certain other Works of his not commonly feen, I am in some hopes to come unto. For mine own matters there is no alteration. I live here in a Paradile inhabited with Devils Venice hath scarce heard of those Vices which are here practic'd; my best Commodity is the conversation of certain Gentlemen, and their Vulgar very pure and correct; fo that here we have good means to learn to speak well and to do ill. I will not further hold your Honour from your better affairs, but commending my felf humbly unto his love, in some haste, and all faithful duty, I take my leave.

Written at Florence this 25th of June 1592. Style of Italy.

Your Honour's Servant, HENRY WOTTON.

July 10. 1592: Florence,

Most Honourable, 1990

MY last I sent by a Dutch Gentleman, who departed Florence the 14th of June. The Week following was very barren of good matter, since, the store

store is increast. Our Pope is fallen from the violent use of the temporal Sword to Spiritual Severity, and hath lately call'd, in the Church of St. John Lateran, the whole Clergy of Rome to examination, depos'd certain unfit, prefer'd the able, sent home Non-Residents, and in short, done many things that were not amis, if they had a good ground. On St. Peter's day no Cardinals were made, in the mean time charges are fav'd; and fuch as reckon the Revenues of the Church at 3600000 Crowns the year, fay, that the Pope hath laid up in Contanti 1200000 fince his Election, allowing him 300000 for all expences. Others, that take the Church to be poorer in these times, cast the account according to the former proportion. Pier Maria Aldobrandini ( with whom I spake yesterday ) is return'd from Rome very melancholy, finding the Pope exceeding cold in the advancement of his Friends. He is no Builder, the League is not supplied, his Affinity blow their Fingers, we can hear of no Money fent to the Catholick Princes; So that it is held for certain, that the Pope is by nature a gatherer, to what effect no man can fay yet with ground. Donato, the Ambaffador of Venice, hath been call'd from St. Pietro Mortorio twice to the Vatican, where he very roundly told the Pope, that the Signory wonder'd to underfland him offended at the taking away of Marco di Sharra, confidering, that they had priviledge from the Sear of Rome to take any Bandito whatfoever out of the Ecclefiastical state, and imploy him in their Wars, which faid, he drew forth the authentick of the Priviledge. The Pope answer'd, that their Priviledge extended it self no further than to Banditi, but Marco di Sharra was moreover attainted of Heresie in nine Articles. To which Donato repli'd very warily,

warily, that, of that the Signory had not understood, because as yet he was not declar'd an Heretick, and so the Disputation receiv'd an end. The Venetians are esteem'd generally not to have done discreetly in that Action. For matters about us here, Cosimo Scali (one of ancient Family) yesterday Morning did here lose his Head, for having stamp'd of the Dukes Coyn in the Realm of Naples; and because he could not be drawn unto Auricular confelfion, they have buried him without the Walls in the Town-ditch. Livigi Doara (one of the Order of St. Stephen ) hath abandon'd the great Duke, and is gone into Spain, having left a stipend (which he had here ) of 1200 Crowns, upon Stomach to fee himfelf cross'd in the Court by the Arch-bishop of Pifa,a Prelate, thorough whose hands doth pass the whole Government of Hetruria. The Marriage-day of Leonora Ursina there is yet no resolution, and less of the Dukes Neece. The Count di Santo Fiore is yet in Court. The old Corn which the Prince brought out of the Denmark, and other Ships that came into his Havens, and was kept at Pifa, shall, as I understand, be exchang'd for new of this year with the Husbandmen, quantity for quantity, but ad agio, because the fresh grain is fallen three Julios in our Market. Certainly the G. Duke hath a mind to hoord up Corn in great abundance, upon what fear or hope is unknown. Concerning the Low-Countries and France, matters proceed well. The Prince of Semay is return'd from Koan with almost three in his Company. The Prince of Afcoly is fent for into Spain, but to what effect cannot be conjectur'd. Where the D. of Parma hath been fince his appearing before Roan, all our Letters leave in doubt. Some will have him at the Spam, Others in Paris,

a third at Bruffels; but we conclude generally that he hath been very warmly receiv'd in France. This is all our News of Substance. To which I can but add a Fortune of mine own to make your Honour merry. I have almost, after my three years travel, found a Person here in Florence so like me; as we are saluted in the Street one for another, and, as they make me believe, very hard to be distinguish'd; fo that now I determine to pass no further, having met with the Spirit of my felf. It is one of the Cappanies. A Copy of all the Towns in the Dukes Territories I have not yet obtain'd. Our Florentine Promises go the Crabs pace. I am deeper another way in your Honours Debt, and crave pardon for that and other Faults in the defect of Duties toward you. And so (most Honourable) I commend your continual fafety unto the Lord.

Written this 10th of July 1592 Style of Italy.

Your Honour's Servant ever,

#### HENRY WOTTON.

In the beginning of this, I err, taking my last unto your Honour to have been sent by a Dutch Gentleman, for now looking upon my Calender, I find that to have been dated on the 12th, and my last on the 26th of June; it was an error in my Memory. Sir Charles Davers is in Town.

### July 27. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

TOur Letters of the first of July I receiv'd the fixteenth of the fame. I am unworthy of fo favourable Lines, which is my old confession. But fince your Honour is pleas'd to work an Opinion in me of my felf, it shall, with your leave, be this; that no Person upon the Earth is more desirous to serve you, neither for any other respect, than because I know your Honour most worthy of it. and my felf most bound to do it, which, before God, is true. If the Dutch Gentleman cannot find the way unto your House, a suo danno, I beseech that my Letters unto your Honour may be cause of no farther trouble than the reading of them. I will come to our News. The King of Spain hath dispatch'd into Germany for the Expedition of 15000 Foot, some di reali, 140, which, after the account of 300 weight in filver per soma, and ten Crowns di moneta per libra di peso, amounteth unto 420000 Crowns. Peradventure all together it may pitch. about half a Million. There is scant Water enough to drive the Mill, and therefore, concurring withall, that it is arrived at Inspruck, some are apt to think, that his Majesty meaneth to run surther in debt with his Cousin German there. These Souldiers are prest for the Low Countries, the P. of Parma having with his last Journey somewhat worn his Legions. If the Turk come on in reasonable haste, the Emperour will be constrain'd to employ these Soul-

Souldiers for his own use, which part he play'd him at the beginning of this - 92, with certain Bands taken up in Bavaria for the League, and fent by the Emperour into Hungaria. We hope Fortune will be favourable unto the jest. Certainly the money comes Swiffen Siel und bolts. The Catholick Party in the stirrs of Strasburg, is under hand aided by the great Eagle, as the Secretary of the new Bishop of Bamberg hath written hither. For matters about us this Week there is little alteration. The Gran Duke attends the furnishing of Pifa with Corn. There is some rumour that the Arch-bishop of Pifa will buy the Cardinals Cap, and the Duke will allow it him out of the Treasury. That I must cry here in the Market, The price of a Cardinalship is an hundred thousand Crowns, for a Bishop of certain years standing, which comes not to the Church, but is the Popes peculiar -The Pope, in this last general Examination of the Clergy in St. John Lateran, hath depos'd four Canonists of that Church, the one, for having Plutarch's Lives found on his Table, the rest for failing in declining of Nouns and Verbs, the particulars are very ridiculous matter to write. Roan we hold yet not be Victual'd, by the Letters of Antwerp of the twenty fifth of the passed. I have lately understood, of a Gentleman of very good credit, that the D. of Parma joyning in this last Action with the Duke of Mayn, would not proceed forward to the Succour of the Town, unless the Duke would swear Fidelity (as Lieutenant General of the League ) unto the Crown of Spain: A point of very great importance, which I will enquire after with more care, and advertise my Lord in the next, And so (most Honourable) ever restresting with all faithfulness bound unto you, I humbly take my leave.

Written this 27th of July 1592, at Florence.

Your Honour's Servant

#### HENRY WOTTON.

I have a great fancy to pass with your Honour out of Italy, and leave you on the Rhyne-stream.

### July 31, 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

THE omitting of the last Post hath made this Week swell with News. There are certain Turks in Rome, who have demanded the Pope's safe conduct for the Mediterranean, that the Corfaires of Malta may be dealt withall by Papal Letters, upon which condition they will import so much Corn as shall reduce the Rubia, going now for 10 Crowns unto 7. The whole Ecclesiastical State hath receiv'd a mean Harvest this year in respect of other Parts of Italy; Sicily hath made amends for a year or two of Scarcity, and is now surnished for three years beforehand. There is a great Plague in the Island Provinces, which we sear in our Peninsul. The Pope (contrary to the Opinion of many) is fallen into a piece of Sixtus the Fisth's Humour, and will pave

Rome in all hafte, alla Fiorentina. A Band is come forth in the mean time, that no Burgess or inhabitant Forrester, suffer any bruttura before his Door. under penalty of 5 Piastre. Charges being in hand, it hath not been thought amis to resuscitate the Gabell of Sixtus's time, which Pasquin told him of. Another work of magnificence is talk'd of, which is the ruining of divers Houses belonging to the Aldobrandini here, and building of a fair Palace in the place, at the Pope's charges. In Jumma, Men fall to this point, that the Pope's not making of Cardinals, neglecting of his Friends, small stirring in Actions abroad, not building at home, have been hitherto to restore the prodigality of Sfondrate, and that hereafter he will better appear in his own Humour. A Clerk of the Chamber was lately beheaded in Rome for falsification of a Bulla, which example they fay was only feen in Sixtus's Government. Upon it is superinduc'd this Elogium, That Clement the VIII. hath La fantita di Pio quarto, la prudentia di Gregorii XIII. & la severita di Sisto V. The Picture of our Lady in Santa Maria in Trafrevere (the titular Church of Altemps) hath fince my leaving of Rome, wrought, as they fay, many Miracles, but will hardly work Altemps to the Popedom: The K. of Spain hath very lately let forth a special Edict, that no private Person, in familiar talk, discourse of the accidents of France, and hath refer'd the Penalty to the high Court of Inquisition. This is written from a Spanish Jesuit out of Spain, to a Theatin Frier in Florence. The Letters of Antwerp have this Week lost their Credit. The Execution of Sir John Parrat (as done on the 26 of the last at London) is fignified by them, but fo, as we receive

it in Florence from England by the mediation of Antwerp in 20 dayes; we suspect the haste. Mon Dragon had not heard of the rendring of Stenwick in Frifia, at Antwerp, when the News came from Collen. fo that no man makes hafte to believe it till the next verification. The felling of Vienna in the Delphinat by Mangeron unto the D. of Nemours, for Crowns 40000, is receiv'd for certain, and in the mean time the Duke's Mother with the Madam of Guife, personally gon to the King to intreat a truce. It were News to have a Civil War compos'd by Women, commonly very untoward Instruments of Peace. Roan will not yield, and the King is constrain'd to license Victuals for Money. We must take a violenter course hereafter than the famishing of Towns. The Wars of the Empire in the East, and Brawls in the West, have caus'd the Emperour to dispatch divers Messengers for aid, and we say here, that there must consequently follow O dieta O ruina. The D. of Parma is still at the Spaw, recovered of his hurts, and in Health. The Popes Numio return'd from him to Collen. With us here (fince my last unto your Honour) there is no change to effect. There is fome Rumor that the Arch-Bishop of Pisa ( who is the greatest favourite of this Court) will buy the Cardinal's Cap, and that the Great Duke will difburst the Money out of the Treasury. The price of a Cardinaiship is 100000 Crowns, for a Bishop of certain years standing, which is the Popes peculier- There are certain other points, but of no great substance. I am very glad to hear that Mr. Egerton is remov'd a degree higher. I continue your Honours most faithful Servant, and commend his Profperity unto the Lord.

Written in Florence, this last day of July, 1592. Style of Rome.

At your Honour's commandment eternally,

#### HENRY WOTTON.

#### August 6. 1592. Florence.

My most Honoured Lord,

X TE have this Week little store of either Rumour or Effect. Since my last unto your Honour, of the 27th of August, the points of any substance are these. Sfondrato, the Duke of Monto Marciano ( who was General of that Pope's Forces in France ) and Peter Cajetan ( Lieutenant of his Horse ) have fought in their Shirts a little beyond Mantua, and are both dangerously hurt. The prefent Pope is greatly offended with the Fray. Our Great Dutchess departeth ( as we imagine here ) the ninth of this Month, per la Madonna di Loretto. The Prince of Parma hath a third Humour toward France, before, at his King's commandment, now upon his own particular tafte. The difference between Renueci and the Duke of Mantoa is compos'd by the four Jesuits that were delegated by the Pope to that Delign, but so, as through it the Duke his Father hath loft a good Souldier, the Marquess of Guafto, who hath cashier'd himself, and resides in Marseilles on the fifth of August stood in peril. There was an Ambuscado laid hard upon the Town, and Advice given in to certain Leaguers to be ready at an hour; but among those withwithout, a Souldier, filling his Flask out of a Barrel of Powder, fet, by miscasualty, both on fire. The Noise discovered the Ambuscado. Thus it is written in a Merchant's Letters from thence. Ogly Sigal, the Turks Admiral, is returned home into the Arfenal, and was only abroad to disport himself with a Gally or two, so that, in that action, there was more Rumour than Substance. The Gran Seignior yet liveth in Croatia, his Baffa is 70000 strong, and his Army divided into four The Plague is gotten into Vienna. John de Taxis, writing a Letter to Lorenzo Guicciardini here ) one of the forty eight ) did, in the sealing, mistake it, and sent one hither that was written to his Mistriss in Venice. A shrewd Errour. Unless my Letter unto your Honour of the fifteenth of August be deliver'd, this cannot well be understood. I have, about some two dayes since, put forth a Book to be copied for your Honour, of which I will make all possible haste that may be. Of mine own Estate I am uncertain, because I have receiv'd instruction to remain in Tuscany, not far from the Great Duke's Court, till I receive Letters of recommendation, so that I wait to whom I shall be address'd. This fell out since my last unto your Honour. Notwithstanding, I am certain to depart out of Italy in fix Months after the date of this, and determine to pals a year after in some nook of France; which done, I shall within a while flew at home the effects of time badly bestow'd abroad. For those hasty Lines, I beg your Honour's Pardon, and wish him with all my Soul (which is at his commandment ) all Prosperity.

Written in most dutiful regard to your Honour, this fixth of August 1592, at Florence.

By your Honour's most faithful Servant during his Life,

HENRY WOTTON.

### August 14. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable.

TOur last, written on the 29th of July, came to me on the 6th of August, I thought the Bearer would return by Venice, till the Post of the last Week was departed, and so am forc'd to use this next. Mr. Parais hath perswaded me that your Honour witheth him well, he wanteth no more to make me travel for his good, I receive him as recommended unto me by the delivery of your Honours Letters, though his name be not in them; so apt I am to think that I am bound to serve them that bring me but even a Paper from you, but this was more; for it bath pleased your Honour to fill it with Words of your most great Favour, which (before God I speak it ) is my exceeding comfort to read. The offer in the conclusion, is the chaining of him whom your Honour had bound before, wherein your Bounty makes me bold to fay thus much, that I am not the richest man that way this present. My Roman Voyage did stand me 146 Crowns, with the best Frugality I could use, so that though there were Pleasure

in it, and (I hope) some profit, yet did it pinch the Shoulder of a younger Brother. There is no Weather beats us more than the fform of Expences. I will come to News, with your Honours Pardon, which this Week, concerning publick Matters, are wild and raw. The Execution of Sir John Parrat is refuted. I have receiv'd Letters from my Brother Edward of the 20th of June, style of England, wherein, by reason of Grief, he wrote little. God hath taken to his Mercy his Wife, who died on the 8th of May, a Gentlewoman in my Opinion of most rare · Vertue. This will make him (as I imagin) resolve to enter the State, both for certain other private respects (which I would tell your Honour if I were present) and besides, to wear away Sorrow with Negotiation, a frequent custom in the Ancients My Brother James is gone to serve in the Low-Countries; my Brother John retir'd to a solitary Life, and at some difference with his Lady. These private points I befeech your Honour only to know from whom, I will ( per dio, per dio ) keep nothing. Concerning others, We expect the Lord Darcy here this Week, as Mr. Guicciardin told me, and I am informed by Corfini, that he hath recommendatory Letters from the Lord Treasurer unto the Great Duke, which to me ( because I am through your Hohour's Favour acquainted with your restraint ) is very strange. This is ventur'd. Hereafter between your Honour and me, I defire my self may fland for the L. Treasurer, Doctor Blotins for the Great Duke, and John de Taxis for the Lord Darcy. The particularities shall be fent as they occur. We hear the Queen of Scots, with a Scottish Earl (of whom she was inamoured) conspired the Kings Death, which proceeded so far to Execution, as to flay some of his Court, with com-Zz4 pelling pelling the King to run away, the certainty I am promis'd the next Week. The Subjects of Poland are malecontent with their King, and have affign'd him a day to answer unto certain Articles; wherein, as I understand, shall be proposed for one, that in case the King leave Issue Male, he shall be uncapable of the Crown; for though the State be in form Elective, yet seldome is chosen a Forrefler, if the King leave Heir of his Body. The appointed day is the fixteenth of September. The Affembly at Warfaw - Our Pope bath fent a Patriarch into Spain, but as yet I have not receiv'd what he hath to negotiate. We expect daily from thence Lenzoni, the Orator of the Grand Duke, who, as I hear, bath lain very fruitlefly at Madrid three years, and being now likely to lole one of his Eyes, hath been licens'd to come home. He was Leiger Ambassadour in the Emperour's Court, and is here in state one of the forty eight. The Emperour's Courrier came to Rome a good while fince, and was dealt withall by the Cardinal Gefualdo the Deacon, the Pope being as then either ill at ease, or busie, or displeased with I know not what. Howfoever, the point is come to this conclusion, that his Majesty shall be allowed him out of the St. Angelo Crowns 600000 for a year, according to the rate of 50000 the Month, some ray upon two Conditions, the one, the the Money be restored at end of the Wars, the other, that his Majesty advance the cause of the Cardinal of Lorain in the matter of Strasburg for whom the Pope if the more eatnest, because he hath taken upon him the conversion of the Almaign Princes, and being, ashe faith, less heresie in the East, it is not amissto begin with the West. Playing at Balon is prohibited in Rome, under penalty of 50 piastre, and tro tratti di corda, because a great Dearth being in the City, Gentlemen were thought to fpend too much that way. The Prince of Anhalt is with his --- licensed out of France, who (as we hear ) shall be General in the Wars of Strasburg, they are now with us call'd Wars, at the first Brawls. The four Protestant Cantons of the Switzers, and Towns of the Empire, are of cold bloud that way. The young Frederick Elector, hath sent home unto her Majesty the Garter of his Uncle, in which service I imagine one Baltasar ( that sometime serv'd Sir William Pelham ) to have been employ'd. Antonio Perez ( heretofore Spanish Secretary ) having been with the King of France, is gone to her Majesty, whom he promiseth notably to inform to the hurt of the King of Spain, and is, in my opinion, a Knave for his labour. Of important News there is no more come unto me fince my last Duty unto your Honour. I crave (my most dearly honoured Lord ) to have all my Faults pardoned, and my felf held in your good grace, Your most faithful Servant ever.

Written this Fourteenth of August 1592. Style of Rome, at Florence.

At your Honour's Pleasure

HAR. WOTTON.

## August 29. 1592. Florence.

# My ever most Honoured,

THE last Duty unto your Honour was on the 15th. of August, which I sent to Mr. Pindar. How he conveyeth Letters to Padua, I know not certainly, ill to England. I have this week received a perfect relation of matters about the Rhyne, from a Friend of mine in Heidelburg, long expected, because the Cardinal, touching the Princess here so near in Blood, few Reports with us run against him. Your Honour knows the manner of Princes Courts. Mandershiedt being departed this Life, before Execution of his Will, little could be done. His Will confifted of many Particularities, as his Wealth did, because (contrary to the ordinary Custom) he had invested his money in precious stones; an humour (of which (even to his death) he kept the ground unknown.) The Testament being executed, either wholly, or at least such parts as depended not upon condition; the Canons, Protestant and Catholick, came together. Unto the Protestants were propos'd two, Gebhard Truchfefs, and the Administrator of Hall's Son; Stirs being look'd for, Truchfefs had few that went with him, because he was poor, his Family worn out, meanly back'd with great men, and himself odious through Excommunication; which even with Lutherans serv'd for an Argument of his Weakness. The Catholicks made more question of their man, a great part holding the Cardinal of Lorrain for the fitteft. His Strength lay near the place; the Pope great-

greatly fayour'd him as his Concreature. He was reputed for his years wife; had good Dealings with the Predeceffor. The Duke of Bavaria was joyn'd in Parentage with the House of Lorrain, a man of a great Stroak in the matters of Germany; and laftly. as a principal Circumstance, he was recommended by the three Electors Catholick. So flood his case. Notwithstanding, there wanted not that opposed the Cardinal of Austria (Son of Ferdinando) against him. as being more royally allied, richer, of good ffrength in Helvetia, by reason of his Bishoprick on the Boden Sea, in that respect likewise as near as the Lorrainer. better able to keep down the Switzers Cantons, little odds in years, this the more personable man, and lastly, a natural born Almain, a thing much respected by the Dutch. As for the Lorrainer, he was a Stranger in Blood, and therefore almost uncapable, furely unfit to govern a Town of the Empire. or if not naturally imperial, yet that recognised it felf within the Jurisdiction of the Roman Crown. In conclusion, all points considered, and the Cardinal of Austria (as they say) being rather spoken for by others than fuing for it himself, the other was elected; wherein, according to the Opinion of the most, there was more Chance than Judgment. Since his Election, they have proceeded even to the Walls of the City, with 1000 Horse and 4000 Foot, very experienced Souldiers. They have put all to the Sword that relifted them, fack'd many Castles and Villages, sent the spoil to Nancy, in summa, perform'd so much as hath greatly diminish'd the opinion of men concerning the force of Strasburg. Out of the Palatinate (for it toucheth that Prince as Guardian of the Rhyne-stream ) are passed 300 Foot against him and his Subjects, in Arms, thorough his whole

whole Territories. The Marquess of Brandenbure hath fent 300 Horse, Bern and Zurich 3000 Switzers; the two other Protestant Cantons, Basil and Shafhauson, are quiet; Nurenburg and Ulm do nothing; the Duke of Wittenberg in Arms, but at home, who yet (as it is thought) will, under a publick pretence, execute his old private Quarrel with the Duke of Lorrain for the County of Mompelyard. Thus it stood on the 10th. of July, Style of England. Since I understand that the Lorrainers have received a great Overthrow, in which, besides 400 Souldiers and certain other chief Captains, was flain the Governour of Nancy. Since my last unto your Honour (contrary to the Expectation of all) is the Marriage of Leonora Urfina accomplished at Pratolin, where the Cardinal Storza arriv'd on the 16th of August, and gave the Ring on Sunday last. I hear the Gentlewoman to be in some pensiveness of mind and to have abandon'd her Cythern, on which she was wont to play; having rather been the Wife of the Prince of Transylvania than of the Count di Santo Fiore, but that, fince the faw him, or rather (as some say) since she tryed him. To grace her Husband the better, they style him Duke Sforza, which here we laugh at. From Rome thus: The Pope hath lately burn'd fix or eight persons for the fault for which Sodom was burn'd. A Fact of horrible Villany was found in the Amphitheater of Titus, namely a Gentleman of Rome murdered, and for farther revenge upon the dead Body, a Dog (being kept hungry before) tied in such manner unto it, that he might eat humane Flesh. For the discovery of this deed, the Pope hath fet a great Taglio, but as yet none can be found that knows the Dog. The two Sons of the D. of Bavaria are expected in Rome, where

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where their Father will have them found this next Winter. The Baron of Bernstein hath dispatch'd his Legacy in Poland, faluted the Emperor in the Pope's name, cross'd Moravia, and is returning to the City, where he hopes to receive the Cap. Two Bandi are come forth in Rome, the one against the Hebrews, not to chase them away, but to limit their Knavery, and in exceeding streight terms. The other contains the Banishment of all Spanish Cortefans from Rome, which the Pope put forth at Intercession of the Dutchess of Sessa, Wife to the Spanish Orator, who had received by their means I know not what Disgrace. John de Taxis is not yet arrived here. I imagine, that he stayeth for some Present out of his Country to present, &c. Thus much in haste to keep my self in the exercise of my Duty unto your Honour, whom I will never cease to serve most faithfully: and till I am able in greater matters, I take pleasure in these little.

My good Lord, the most Merciful protect you in all security.

Written from Florence this 29th. of August, 92. Style of Rome.

Your most affectionate

Servant ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

#### September 12. 1592.

### Most Honourable,

Cloce my last of the 6th of September the occurorents are thus. The great preparation of our Princels for the Madonna di Loreto is come to nothing, and her felf growing to be great another way, which hinder'd the Journey. The Court still at Pratolin attending unto the fresh Air. The Pope hath not stird in any matter of Substance, but, as I am inform'd, hath been founded what we may hope of him here by divers Requests, and some of them no Trifles; as to make, at the Dukes request, two Cardinals, the Arch-bishop of Pisa for one, and the other, a Kinsman of the Princess, so that here we shall know our Cards shortly. Toward the Turkish Wars the King of Poland doth contribute 20000 Horse for his Wives sake. The Arch-Duke Ferdinando gives 20000 Dollers and 5000 Foot. The Arch-bishop of Strazburg is charged with 30000 Florins of the Rhyne, and 3000 Foot. The Lords of Moravia will defend their own Borders, and upon a Magnaminity have quit his Majesty of all Debts in their Books current fince he received the Crown. The Emperour will to the Borders in Perfon, and there is News come, that the Ottoman Heir apparent is arrived in the Camp. Ernestus his Rider (an Italian) arrived in Florence the 9th of this, and is departed toward the Kingdom for Provision of Horse. While his Majesty is in Negotiation, we hear the Venetians have taken from him a Town in Triuli. Concerning the Civil Wars in the West, either the Great Dutchels her Confanguinity with the Cardinal

Cardinal corrupts our News here, or the Strasburgers go down; for we say that the Cardinal of Lorrain, his youngest Brother, hath in a Skirmish slain most of those Switzers that were sent by Zurich and Bern. The English Agent in Constantinople hath carried himself very roundly in a matter of dangerous importance, and labour'd the Gran Signior to an absolute denial of the Spanish Orator, who waited long at Raguza for answer of admission, or the contrary, and is now imbark'd toward Otranto, and to to Naples. Out of England, fince my last Duty unto your Honour, I have receiv'd nothing. I want further Matter, and therefore will crave Pardon to end, and leave my most honoured Lord to his worthier Cares, and in our good Gods Protection ever.

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Written in great haste this 12th of September, 1592. ftyle of Rome.

Your Honours most faithful Servant during his Life,

HENRY WOTTON.

## Septemb. 19. 1592.

# My most Honour'd Lord,

Clace my last Duty unto your Honour ( on the I twelfth of September ) we understand here of few changes, yet our Letters this Week both from Milan, Colen, and private out of Germany, do concur, that the Cardinal is in possession, that the decifion is committed to the Prince Electors, that the Strasburgers are bound to repair the damages of the War, a conclusion redounding to the shame of the whole Empire, and notably agreeing with the Pope's purposes, who has taken upon him the Conversion of the Almaign Princes. Our next News will be, that there is a Seminary Colledge establish'd in the Town. In the Turkish Wars, Erneftus is made General of the Imperial Army, the Marquels of Burgaw Lieutenant General, Maximilian without Charge, either because his Majesty had more humour to his next Brother, or because it was fear'd, lest Maximilian, having the government of the Army, might perchance have a cast at the Crown of Poland, thoughts, not as yet extinguished in him. Howsoever, this point, with other differences concurring, have caus'd a dangerous Enmity between him and his Brother Erneflus, not confifting in Words and Bravado's, but mortally enraged one against the other, as we have by Letters and Relation. It is thought the Christian Army will amount to 35000 Foot, and 6000 Horse; the Turkish doth pals 70000. His Majesty will not go in Person to the Borders, but likes bettcr

ter a warm Stove for this Winter. The Pope hath been (but we know not upon what grounds ) at hot terms with Montalto; if that continue, his days are short. There is an accord made between the Great Duke and Don Petro, as yet at Madrid, but we expect him shortly in Tuscany. So hath your Honour from me now receiv'd the falling out of two Almaign Brothers, and composition of two Brothers Italian, wherein the Reconcilement may peradventure prove as dangerous as the Enmity. This is all, which I have written to hold my hand in Service towards your Honour, whose most great Favours towards me I will ever confess with my Tongue to others, and with my Pen unto himself, and am forry that I can go no farther than Words and Paper. I am preparing to remove to Sienna, as I fignified to your Honour before, but not directly, because I intend first to see a Port of two of the Great Duke's. 1 imagine to depart Florence this next Thursday, which will be the 24th of this Month. I only stay for certain things for your Honour, which I have mention'd in my former Letters, which I will fend by the Procaccia of this next Week to Heldevir in Merzena, and give order to Mr. Hungerford for the conveyance. I befeech your Honour to pardon all my boldness, and not to deny me your continual Favour; And so with my humble reverence I take my leave.

Written this 19th of Septemb. 1592.

Your Honour's most faithful Servant during his Life.

HENRY WOTTON.
Aaa John

John de Taxis is arriv'd, and, in my opinion, a most exceeding courteous Gentleman. He ask'd me for your Honour, and whether you had not yet seen these Parts; adding, that he heard your Honour to have been in Rome, which was once rold me before of another. So that, you have (my Lord) the Report, without the Effect. Your Favour turns wholly to my Credit, for such as are desirous to enquire of you repair to me, who can press from me no other than most worthy reports of your Vertue, because (by God) I know no other.

Iterum Vale.

## Octob. 3. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

Your last of the second of September I received the twenty third of the same. It seems to have lain in Mr. Pinder's Window a Post or two, being good not to dispatch matters rashly. All Words are laid aside, and Titles, and whatsoever else that is not the sincere profession of my heart, yet shall your Prosperity be ever in my Prayers to God, and your Praise in my mouth to men, which both are the sruits of your Love, and of your Favour, which is rather in true Experience than in Hope.

The Book that I put to be copied for your Honour, is not yet ended, not the Tariffa of all the Towns in the Gran Duke's Territories, in my hands; for which I have tarried eight dayes in

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Florence longer than my determination. I use a Gentleman in my matters, upon whom the Prince hath lately bestow'd two Offices of great importance, which hath hinder'd me. So that what I promis'd from Florence, I must necessarily perform from Sienna; toward which Town I am going on Monday, in the company of my Lord Darcy and his Brother; we take the course of Poggie, Prato, Pissoia, Luca, where I shall leave them, and so from

Pifa and Livorno to Sienna.

In that which I sent by Mr. Pinder, it pleased your Honour to mistake me. I was bold to discover mine own Estate, fearing to be thought unmindful of that I owe already, and not desirous to proceed farther. Your Honour's trouble that way I desire this may prevent, and do withall render him great thanks. Concerning John de Taxis, I will sound out the matter with better ground, and without delay advertise it from Sienna. Our Journey serves that effect. From my Friends in England, I have this Week received nothing. And so in most great haste I make an end, recommending my self without end unto your sayour.

Written this third of October, being Saturday, 1592.

With his leave, his Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

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Octob. 25. 1592. Sienna.

# Most Honourable,

Horough Prate, Piftoia, Luca, Pifa, and most of the Towns which are scituate in the Plain of Hetruria, I am at length arrived at Sienna, in the company of those Persons whom I signified unto your Honour in my last from Florence. I continued to Pifa; there we brake off: they taking their course to Volterra, and I to the Port of Ligorno, where all the Gallies of the Great Duke were now come, on the day before, and there mann'd for Marfilia. This was on the ninth day of this present October. Concerning John de Taxis, and that point, wherein ayour doth fo much defire to be certified, I imagine my felf to have almost founded the bottom of it, but because it hath dependance upon other Secrets, I am bold to flay the fignifying of all till I receive answer from Mr. Hungerford, that he hath from Venice dispatch'd this Letter to your Lodging in Padoa; because perchance there may be some alteration in your Honour's Estate. I have included a Cypher, which I will observe. The former sent before stands ver niente.

The cause of my staying in these Parts of Tuscany, not far distant from the Great Duke's Court, I did my Duty in acquainting your Honour with before. Concerning my Debts, I sear to lose your Honour's good conceit of me, which, I protest, I would not do, for more than I know my

my Fortune is born to. When your determination is to depart out of Italy, I humbly crave pardon to defire to know, that I may take order for the Payment. I do now with this Post send to Florence for the Book of Cultivation, which I put out forty days fince to be copied for your Honour, and hope withall to receive the Tariffa of all the Towns in the Great Dukes Estate, which shall presently be sent away to Venice, that so I may shew my self desirous to perform, though the least grateful point unto your Honour, to whom I owe omnia mea desideria, labores omnes, omnes curas. My next stirring will certainly be towards Venice, and I think to cross the Genouefato and Dukedom of Milan. Few are likely to know of that, for those Parts grow dangerous, and the Pope more and more receives Spirit; But, I defer that matter until my next. I am here by the means of certain Persons ( to whom I was recommended ) gotten into the House of Scipione Alberti, an ancient Courtier of the Popes, and a Gentleman of this Town at whose Table I live, but dearly. With such Letters as are sent me, I take this course to have them recommended, Al Signior Agostino detto il Meschino Cancelliere delle Poste, who is instructed to that effect. So have I been bold thus to acquaint your Honour with my particular motions and defigns, which I would they were any thing else than a most perfect description of the bad use of Time; yet comfort I my felf, that in wandring up and down in a strange Land, I imitate, though not the nature, vet the fortune of Vertue, which certainly is Peregrina in terris, in Calo Civis. I beseech you, my Good Lord to continue your Fayours towards me,

and to love me for the will I have to ferve and honour you. And so I commend your Honour's Safety unto the Almighty.

Written from Sienna this twenty fifth of Ottober, 1502. Style of Rome, in great hafte.

> At your Honour's commandment ever,

#### HENRY WOTTON.

25 November, 1592. Sienna.

## Most Honourable,

Have for fourteen dayes expected certification from Mr. Hungerford, whether my Letters unto him ( wherein my last unto your Honour were inclosed) have been deliver'd; that I might fatisfie your Honour's demands concerning the Frenchman and Monsieur du Plese; which I could not conveniently do till my former were receiv'd; but being yesterday from my Friend advertised, that your Honour resided still in Padoa, and that my last were recapitated thither; I now proceed to effectuate your Will. That the French-man was recommended by Monsieur du Plese to the Master of the Vatican Library, I think to be false; neither was there in that Packet (of which I wrote your Honour before ) any fuch recommendatory Letter,

man

ter, yet he told me, that the Master of the Vatican Library had shew'd him especial Favours, which I understand to have been by defending him from the Inquisitor of Rome. The Point stood in these terms. There was a Book written against La Nome by Possevinus the Jesuit, comprehending matter of infamous confequence; Your Honour knows the imaginations of men; This Book, the Frenchman, having no other way to relift, or retract, bought up all the Examples. The matter ascended to about two hundred Crowns. Upon this, the Inquisitor of Rome began to stir against him. The French-man follicited the Mafter of the Vatican Library to back him in it; who authoriz'd the Fact; commanding (as far as in him lay) the Inquisitor to silence. The Inquisitor not daring directly to proceed further, inform'd the Colledge of it, as the manner is in fuch cases. In this deliberation, by the diligence of the Master of the Vatican, and gracious speech of the Cardinal Mendonir ( who greatly favour'd the cause of the Frenchman: a thing to be noted of some to his great danger) there was no farther dealing against him. But, I hear, one informing him afterwards that the Book would be printed again in some other Italian Town, and that in the Preface there would be some dishonourable mention made of him, to his prejudice, he then began to alter his Countenance, and very much to repent him that he had ever dealt in it so far. But howsoever that may prove, fure it is this matter hath mightily kindled the Coals against his Nation, and greatly inrag'd the Inquifitor. Especially, because he hath been inform'd, that the very same French-Aaa4

man hath had his hands in more secret Plots, as that he doth exercise a kind of correspondency with a Servant of the Cardinal Mondouir. There are likewise others of his Nation suspected, so far as perhaps may go near to cost an Head or two. As, for better exemplification, I have heard one, with very sound probabilities, accused, during his aboad in Rome, at Midnight to have entered the House of the fore-named Cardinal, delivering him a Packet of Letters from his Father. I will name the man unto your Honour in my next. This is all, that by direct or indirect means

is come to my Ears.

Concerning mine own Estate, I am right forry that my coming to Venice is rejourn'd a Month or two longer, upon the occasion that I wrote your Honour before, and I do most humbly crave to know (if your good leave afford it me ) when your determination is to draw towards England, that I may provide some convenient means to pay your Honour those thirty Crowns, to whom I am besides in debt as much as my Soul can compals. Our Occurrences, which are many, I will defer till the next Ordinary. False News is very current; for I am by Mr. Nevil lately inform'd, that there runs a voice in Venice that I have been in the Inquisition, which, if it be proceeded as far as your Honour, I fear lest it may very much prejudice my Credit, that held it from him to whom I am so much bound to reveal all; and therefore do now, to prevent the Rumour, affirm it to be false. Of that other Book which I put out in Florence to be copied for your Honour, I have, notwithstanding my writing thither, as yet receiv'd ceiv'd no Answer, but it shall most certainly be provided for you. And so recommending my self ever in great particularity to your Honour's Favour and Love, and good report of my bad deserts, I leave him for this present in the merciful desence of God.

Written this twenty fifth day of November 1592. at Sienna.

Your Honour's Servant during his life.

#### HENRY WOTTON.

In Cafa d' Alberti rincontro alla fontana del Cafato.

I crave pardon to defire to hear of the Receipt of this.

Mr. Hungerford will more diligently convey your Letters than Pinder.

Being yesterday with Mr. Nevil, he most expressly charg'd me at my next Writing to remember his Duty unto your Honour.

December

# December 3. 1592. Sienna.

# Most Honourable Lord,

N my last unto your Honour from this Town, I made answer to the commandment of your Letters received in Florence eight dayes before my departing thence. The case requir'd close proceeding, which made me use such a manner, as I cannot be understood without receipt of all my former from Sienna: so that upon doubt lest some have miscarried, I have in this, included a Post-cypher, serving for the Letter that I fent by our last ordinary, which was inclos'd in one to Mr. Hungerford. I find his means better than that of Pinder. If your Honour have occasion further to touch any of those points (pleafing him) it shall not be amis to use the same Names. I do in this make hafte, being written by the extraordinary; which is here our best course, because otherwise our Packets breathe in Florence from Wednesday Noon to Sunday Morning; so disconvenient is the Postage in Towns di Passaggio, as they term them. I cannot keep from your Honour, that I lately have receiv'd information, that there aretwo Books written in Italy against my Lord Treafurer, the one in Latin, the other in our Vulgar: They were printed in Rome, and thought to proceed from one Banes, who is an attendant of our Cardinal, and with whom certain English are run too deep in correspondency. I have about that matter much to deliver in your Honour's Ear; I dare not truft, yet this I will venture to fignifie, that I conjecture there was lately from hence dispatch'd a man

man of purpose to obtain an example of those Books in Rome, who went upon the French Mans Charges, of whom I advertif'd your Honour in my last, and now in the inclos'd Cypher. This I do hazardoufly, that your Honour may have it while the Action is warm. Concerning this point, there run certain other Suspitions, in part dependant upon it, and partly consequent; which it hath happen'd unto me to look into with the reft, and bath occasion'd me to change my Resolution of keeping secret the Conference I had with Robert Bellarmine during my aboad in Rome, fignified your Honour in my first from Florence, and as yet to no other Person living. My Reasons are two. First, because it can import me no Danger, my fecond having proceeded no further with him than to ordinary talk in matter of Learning, and besides, as a poor Dutchman; Secondly, I find some (that think their badness secret) so likely to be deceiv'd, as I begin to confess all, fearing lest whatsoever is close, have shortly the name of ill, to which estate I see things receive an Inclination. In this, your Honours advise is humbly desir'd. Concerning other points of my estate, I depend upon Letters out of England, and am till then nail'd in Tuscamy. Of my good Lords Determinations, with his Pardon of my boldness, I shall be most glad to hear. We have for matter of News, few effects, but mighty expectations; for it is thought the next Promotion at Rome, will be very numerous. The two younger Princes of Bavaria, Philip Bishop van Regensturg, and his Brother Ferdinando, were seen here this last Friday. They supp'd with the Governour, and dind with the Bali, and departed the next day toward Rome. Their enterEntertainment was gallant here, and the like commanded thorough all Towns of his Highneffes's Estate, so that we are put into a Bisbiglio, and some fay that between the House of Medici, and Bavaria, there is a Match in hand; Maria Medicea, the Duke's Neece doth loofe years. These two Princes were accompained with two Jesuits, who do only fit at their Table, and fuffer—A Regularity now become the Companion of a Prince. Out of England I have very lately receiv'd nothing to participate with your Honour. Sir Walter Raughly out of the Town, which the great Prise, lately taken, wherein he had the best Venture, is thought to have hastned: The Sea. and Earth, and all the Elements, are for him. My Cousin John Wrath is yet in Antichi termini, and concerning that place in Constantinople, her Majesties conceit toward the Agent there, doth daily increase by the fingular good demeanour of himself. My Brother Edward ( which I only writ to this end, because I am bound to write all) hath either against his Will (as some say) or with it (as I say) been Knighted. I have no more, but rest with earnest defire to have your Honour's Favour continued towards me, which I beseech him not to deny me; and so leave him in Gods Protection.

Written at Sienna this third of December, 1592.

Your Honours Servant most faithfully,

H. W.

I desire, so it please him, that the Fire may keep this from others. The Name that I promis'd your Honour in my last, is Thomas Sackvill.

Decemb.

## Decemb. 28. 1592. Rome.

( rather Sienna )

Most Honourable.

TAving in my three last unto your Honour Having in my tine and dangerous points, fignified by Cypher certain dangerous points, I will in this fet down the occurrences in matter of Publick Effate. The great expectation which ran of these last four Tempora, concerning the number of Cardinals, is fallen out quite contrary; the Pope having on Wednesday morning in the Consistory us'd to the Illustriffini these words; Ora Sono Papa, fin ora non son stato Papa, non adheriro, a nessun Principe, non faro de Cardinali, "Iddio vi benedica; Words directly proceeding against the Opinion of all, but croffing none more immediately than the Father Toledo, toward whom the Pope is known to have particular inclination. Thus much is certain, That Toledo having given order to one of the Buonacorsi in this Town to be ready upon his call, did dispatch a Corrier for him the Saturday before the four tempora, fomething feeming to have fallen between the calicem supremaque labra. The Colledge hath lately loft the Cardinals Canano, Mondovio, and Sans. The first died in Modena to the especial discomfort of the House of Esti, as if all Stars that gave light that way, were under the Horizon. By the Death of the other two, the Conclave hath received little alteration; though Mondovio were papable,

pable, and a great Soggetto in the Lift of the Foresters; and sometime School master to the King of France. The two Princes of the House of Bavaria ( who past by these Parts toward Rome, as it were making haste) were entertain'd a while at Caprarola upon the Pope's Commandment, that things might be prepared the better in the mean time, as it is interpreted. Of the elder Brothers promotion there is now general filence, men feeing Servitors of the Court, and even Nephews neglected; which, some fay, the Pope hath done to conclude his first year with a point of great Moderation. In the Great Duke's Estate there is little change, or inclination to change fave that Signieur Silvio Picolhuomini is made Admiral of his Gallies; either for his own sufficiency that way, or (as some think) to sweeten the humours of that Family, not a little inasperated by the Death of Alfonso. Don Pietio di Medici we hear to be married in Spain to the Daughter of the Duke of Alba Regale, having obtained of the King the Chancellorship of the great Order of St. Jago. The Marriage of the Prince Doria with the Daughter of Marcantonio Colonna ( sometime Viceroy in Sicily ) hath been gallantly celebrated in Genova. The Elder Baron of Harrach is expected dayly to pals by these Parts, as the Emperours Lieger in Kome, whom I hear to be a Gentleman of very mature Judgment. The Death of the Duke of Parma hath put many into disputation about the Successor, and fome are of Opinion that the King will divide the Charges, placing in the Low-Countries two Persons, \* the one Regent for his Majesty, the other Lieutenant General over the Garrisons, Artillery, Munition, and all points Military. The Prince's Death

was in the manner of a Dropsie, occasioned through drinking of too much Water, which was counsel'd him against his Gout. His Requiem they sang in Rome on the seventeenth of the present. The Cardinal Duartes, his Son, as then retir'd out of the City. It is said to have caus'd some slight Mutiny in Antwerp. The Effects that are to follow will, I hope, afford me better Matter for my next unto your Honour; of whose estate I most humbly desire to hear. And so in great haste (my good Good Lord) I commend my self unto the continuance of your Honours Favour and Love towards me, wishing him in earnest, a blessul end of his Designs.

Written this 28th of December 1592.

Your Honour's most faithful Servant

H. WOTTON.

August 22. 1593. Geneva.

My most Honoured Lord,

NO Man that knoweth your Honour can doubt of your Prosperity, of whom, I humbly thank you, that I am one. I writ this to congratulate with your safe return into your Country: as I rejoyce to do, and as I am many wayes bound to do. It hath been fignified me by divers, and even now in one from my Friend Charles Cluse, of the 23 of July, mentioning your Honour's unto him of the orb of

June from London.

We concur both in the faithful defire of your Happiness. Since my last unto your Honour, I have not only chang'd Place, but Nation. For after I had seen the better Towns of Lombardy, as Genoua, Milan, and the rest, I took my course thorough the Grisons to Geneva, leaving a discreet Country in my Opinion too soon.

Here I arrived the 22th of June, style of England. The Town seems unto me marvellous unpleasant, and the French a badly grounded People; so that my aboad here depends upon my profiting in the Language, which I am fain to seek upon these Skirts

of Savov.

About the beginning of the next Spring (when nature doth put in all things motion) I determine (if it please God) thorough a part of Smitzerland and certain Provinces of the Low-Countries to end

this patience.

Here I am placed, to my very great Contentment, in the House of Mr. Isaac Casaubon, a Person of sober Condition among the French; and this is all that I can signific of my self, my little affairs allowing me not much to speak of. Concerning News, your Honour knows we are here rather Scholars than Polititians, and sooner good, than wise: yet thus much I must say, that the state of the Town is undone with War, even in Manners; for certainly I have not seen worse Temptations in Italy. Not to let your Honour be melancholy, I cannot abstain

to tell you that fince the dayes began to shorten, the Women (before feeming to have digefted certain Humors with walking) do now shell Hemp till an hour or two in the Night, upon the Banks in the Street, and Fires before them made of those Shales: a cultom drawing with it many pretty Examples and Opportunities. In short, it was three dayes since forbidden with the found of the Trumpet. Some excuse the War, and lay the fault upon the Dutch, as having brought into the Town Intemperance and Ebriety, and fuch other Evils as follow them. To end your Honours Torment out of these Trifles, We have lately chang'd the Form of our Prayer for Henry of Borbon, who hath chang'd himself, and forfaken the God whose Mercies he had seen, and whose Judgments he must expect: an Example, calling us with great amazement to the confideration of the inconstant state of men, among whom there is nothing certain under the Heaven that covers us.

Before I conclude this, I must advertise your Honour, that I have certain Papers for you, and amongst the rest, the manner of Service in the Courts of Rome, with Points appertinent, discribed at my request by Scipione Alberti, my Host in Sienna, and sometime Major duomo of the Duke of Paliano. I was the more earnest with him, remembring your Honour to have wish'd for such a thing in the Cloyfter of the Duomo at Padoa, which I ingray'd in a bad Memory. I have likewife written by the same man the Death of the Dutchels of Paliano in the bloody Times of Paulus the Fourth. Farther, I expect daily certain other Discourses in matter of State from the Nephew of the Cardinal of Verona, one of my very intrinsecal Acquaintance, and that hath some Bbb light light of the Truth. I will end, befeeching the continuance of your Honour's Favour towards me, and to I commend his fafety to God.

From Geneva this 22th of August.

Your Honour's Servant ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

# To the Earl of Essex, from Sir H.W. then his Servant. 1597.

My most Honourable Lord,

His Morning I have receiv'd a Letter from one Paolo Lentulo an Italian Resident at Bern among the Switzers, of no very ancient date; wherein (giving his Judgmenr of the present Condition of that Popular State) he writeth thus; Ne' Suezzeri ve' molto disgusto contra del Re di Francia per Cagion delle gran Somme (cresciute gia col interesse di tempo) che deve, tanto al Universale come alli particulari ; & perche gli Anni della Confederatione con Francia sono ultimamente spirati, Il Re di Spagna circa con large promesse & doni (mediante il suo Oratore) tirargli a se: Onde (molti delli Capi che per pagar i soldati che banno condotti in Francia sono stati costretti di vender le case & beni loro, non effendo stati pagati del detto Re, & promettendo il Re di Spagna di voler pagar tutti i debiti di Francia & accrescer ancora le pensioni Militari) vi fono molto inclinati. I could not in my Duty forbear to advertise your Lordship (though in the midst of these your nearer Cares) of so great a point as this diversion of the Cantons: touching immediately France, but consequently her Majesty, by the necessity (which will grow if it be effected) of English Insantry in the Kings Wars. He likewise writeth, that the Emperour hath restrained the Liberty of Religion in all his Hereditary Dominions: Whereupon his Natural Subjects being (as he saith) in worse Condition than his Elective, resuse to contribute to his Wars.

The rest of his Letter is only of his private Estate, in which part he seemeth to intreat me, that I make him known unto your Lordship, for a man desirous to do you Service in those Parts; for which I will with all possible haste presume to deliver him thanks from you, being indeed, besides his Learning and sound Affection to this State, a man well tumbled and practiced in the World-Before I conclude this, I will most humbly besech your Lordship, that if there grow any Actions between her Majesty and the Emperour, wherein your Lordship may make any use of that time which I bestowed in those Countries, and in this Court, it please you to employ me.

At Plimouth the 30th of Ostober, 1597.

Your Lordships most bounden and faithful Servant for ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

FINIS.